

THE DIARY OF PHILIPP VON NEUMANN

“He is an excellent man. I have known him for many years; and I do not know a better.”

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

1846

Augt 20

Visite au château abbé au bout des halles, en suite de mes promenades
à Fontainebleau, l'heure éveillé y - lege - un moment de la ville
renouvelé le voyage qui aboutit au château d'aujourd'hui sans
renoncer à nous donner la bénédiction - sans le
renoncer plus tard (entre) au château, il était, malgré
ce dernier empêcher l'accès) une partie à cheval
la 1^{re} étage leur une voiture étaté de la ville
à environs 1 km de Fontaine appartenant à L. Madam
un étage et deux étages - là, auquel étage
je me suis mis le château intérieur.

21

Tant à 6h de matin pour marcher à temps, jusqu'à la bourse
de la ville de Paris, où j'arrive le matin lorsque après la
Terracina, Tunis & Rome, forte pour les difficultés possibles
d'atteindre ces routes accidentellement, et être obligé d'attendre
à l'heure du départ à 8h. Le matin - malheureusement
la place suivante n'est pas j'arrive que à midi il est
à l'heure de la ville - j'arrive à la gare de la gare de la ville
d'où je prends le train pour la gare de l'avenue de l'avenue
qui débouche en plaine - dans la direction de la
Lady Lucy Hattie parmi le long arbre, une
ville de la ville comme il faut

22

Tant à 9h pour un morceau de temps, lorsque je part
belle à la gare de Charente jusqu'à l'appartement
nous arrivées à 9h il peut faire la marche
descendre à l'heure de la ville de la gare de la
gare de la ville comme il faut

l'heure de la ville comme il faut

THE DIARY OF PHILIPP VON NEUMANN

1819 TO 1850

Translated and Edited from the Original Manuscript

BY

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VOLUME I
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FOREWORD

THE discovery of original matter throwing light on a period in our history so important and attractive as that covered by the reigns of George IV., William IV., and the earlier years of Queen Victoria, would alone be a notable find ; but when that discovery takes the form of a diary kept almost daily during that long period by one who occupied an outstanding political and social position, its significance is obviously greatly enhanced.

Some time ago Major-General Sir George Aston was lucky enough to unearth the manuscript of such an invaluable record, and he has lost no time in communicating it to the public. The original diary consists of a number of sections (some 35) written closely in French on both sides of the pages, and extending to some 400,000 words. To have published the whole of this without excisions would have been obviously to be giving both the chaff and the grain. For many of the entries are in the nature of mere reminders of engagements and visits and so forth, which even when notable names are attached, could have little or no interest for anyone. Luckily the diary consists of many entries of importance and permanent value ; and it has been my pleasant (though not unlaborious) task to translate it and, as it were, to winnow the grain from the chaff. Here and there a little of the latter may, from my excess of zeal not to cut too drastically, have been included. It is, if this be so, a sin of commission. But I think I may safely assure the reader that no serious sin of omission has

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been perpetrated. Nothing I believe of real importance has been cut out. Where there are gaps those gaps are either actual ones in the MS., or they are such as, if filled, would be found to contain entries having no permanent value or interest. Here and there one or two sentences have been excised as dealing with persons in whom the public could feel no concern, but which, if retained, might conceivably cause pain to living descendants.

In order to link up the entries, there have been interspersed short commentaries and connecting paragraphs, and these will be found to indicate generally where excisions have been made and the general nature of them. Here and there, too, foot-notes have been added as helpful in cases where a reference might seem to be required, or to point out where fuller information concerning a person or event can be obtained.

The spelling of proper names (where those names are not generally known) has here and there caused difficulty, especially as Neumann's penmanship is not of the clearest ; where he has obviously erred, as in the case of a foreigner dealing with some English names is almost inevitable, the correct ones have been substituted. But this has not often been necessary. Once or twice Neumann has omitted a word altogether, in which case this omission is indicated. Generally this has not been a serious loss ; but one would have liked to know exactly what it was that King George IV. remarked to his physicians on February 10th, 1820, especially as the Diarist actually begins the royal remark but leaves it unfinished, having probably been interrupted while in the act of recording it.

The illustrations to the following volumes have been selected as reminders of some of the personages of the day mentioned in the diary. It is regrettable that no portrait of Baron Neumann has been procurable. The

F O R E W O R D

facsimile letter, reproduced as a frontispiece to this volume, shows the style of his handwriting when he took the trouble to write carefully. Unfortunately the often hurried character of his journal did not permit him always to be so legible, and my task has been greatly lightened by the excellent way in which Miss Faiers, of the Institute of Historical Research, has typewritten the original MS.

Thanks are due to Sir George Aston for having permitted the publication of a treasure which his acumen discovered ; they are also due to the Austrian Legation for having most kindly provided a *résumé* of Neumann's life and an account of his family, preserved in the State Archives.

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INTRODUCTION

I

BIOGRAPHICAL

BEFORE I proceed with my task of describing the Diary, the period covered by it, and the position in the society of London and Paris and Vienna which Neumann occupied, some data about the man and his family must be set down.

His father was Karl Neumann, who was born in 1737, and who, on November 13th, 1766, was appointed a King's Messenger attached to the Embassy at Brussels, which city was at that time part of the Austrian Netherlands, and of which the lady he married, Maria Josephine Dupetiaux, was a native. On April 11th Karl Neumann was appointed Companion (*Kammerdiener*) and travelling courier (*Reise-kurier*) to the Archduke Maximilian, and in this capacity accompanied the Prince on many long tours at home and abroad till the year 1780. Ten years later he is found filling the post of Gentleman Usher (*Hofquartiermeister*) at the Emperor's coronation at Frankfort. Having filled other posts about the court, he was in February 1810 ennobled, a distinction he enjoyed but three years, as he died on November 17th, 1813, from the effects of a chill contracted at the thanksgiving service for the Battle of Leipsic. At this time his wife was still living, although then very old and enfeebled.

They had five children, four sons and a daughter.¹ The Austrian State Records from which the details of Karl

¹ She died on January 24th, 1835; see Diary for the following day.

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Neumann's career and family are culled does not mention in what order these children were born, but it places Philipp first, although he was not the eldest son.

Another son, named Francis, held various positions, and from August 1811 assisted his father as assistant *Kammer-kurier*. On June 4th, 1812, Francis died of a chill caught at a funeral. He left behind him a widow, named Anna (her surname is unknown), but no children.

Two more of Karl Neumann's sons followed a military career. One of them in 1795 was a naval officer in the Rhine flotilla during the course of the war. He is probably identical with a Joseph von Neumann who in 1828 was an ensign in the Russian service. More than this is not known concerning him.

The other son, Maximilian, lived in Vienna 1777-80, and entered the royal service as an ensign. In 1797 he became sub-lieutenant, in 1799 lieutenant, in 1804 captain, in 1809 major, and in 1815 colonel.¹ He took part in the war from 1796-1815, and was on various occasions decorated by the Russians, Sardinians and Papal States. On January 30th, 1821, he married Hannah Singer. In 1830 he became major-general and brigadier in Kaschen. In 1836 he was recalled and made governor of the fortress of Brod; and after 1841 he commanded at Legnano. On August 21st, 1845, he was given hereditary rank, and died at Legnano on November 9th, 1846.

Maximilian had three children: one daughter born 1821, Euphrosyne Philippina, and in 1822 Maximilian Philipp, and another daughter Laura Philippine, of whom all that is known is that in July 1854 she died unmarried. The son Maximilian Philipp died on July 27th, 1854 (he was then a doctor of philosophy). Euphrosyne Philippina

¹ The Diarist speaks of him as being placed on the retired list in 1834, but calls him William, which was probably a second Christian name.

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married, November 10th, 1841, Capt. Ladislaus Singer, who was born in 1802 at Kutsumare in Bukovina. He went into the royal service as a private in 1817, became an ensign in 1821, served in the campaign of 1848-9 in Hungary as a major, was decorated with the Cavalry Cross by the Duchy of Parma, and in 1853 was pensioned as lieutenant-colonel. On September 27th, 1854, he was raised in rank (in the Austrian nobility) as 'Von Gleichnenn.' He died at Pressburg in 1886. His widow died in 1900.

Of Philipp's two children, Natalie was born at Pressburg March 9th, 1845, and was married on April 30th, 1863, to Major August Anton Freiherrn von Stelzhammer, the marriage being annulled in 1868; and of this marriage there were no children. On October 4th, 1875, she married Lieut. Karl Festetics (who was born on December 10th, 1836, and died on February 23rd, 1877), and was alive in 1919, according to the Court Guide. By her second husband she had, on September 27th, 1876, a son, Alexander Ladislaus Karl, who married at Oldenburg, April 22nd, 1903, Hild Rittler, who was born March 13th, 1881. According to the *Almanack de Gotha*, Alexander was Master of the Horse and lived at Innsbruck.

In the course of the Diary will also be found various references to members of Philipp von Neumann's family; and the following brief record, taken from Wurzbach's *Biographical Lexicon*, carries the outlines of his own career down to the year 1830.

'Philipp Freiherr von Neumann (statesman) was born in Vienna about the year 1778.¹ After having completed his education he first joined the Treasury (*Finanz-Hofkammer*), but changed over to the diplomatic service in

¹ He was born on December 4th, 1781, and spent the earlier years of his childhood in Brussels. (See Diary for Sept. 16th, 1841.)

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the following year (1803). He was secretary to the Embassy and later councillor in London, and was on more than one occasion *chargé d'affaires* at this post. His activity was regarded as notable, especially in 1814¹ and 1815, on the occasion of the remittance of the English subsidies to the Austrian Government, when he succeeded in obtaining very favourable conditions for Austria on the question of the rate of exchange. In 1824 he took part in the negotiations between Portugal and Brazil, as a result of which the reconciliation between King Don Juan VI. and his son, Don Pedro of Brazil, was brought about. In 1826 Neumann was sent on a special mission to Brazil, during which he succeeded in silencing the doubts that arose concerning the legitimacy of the title of the Infante Don Miguel to the Regency of Portugal ; and in the October of the following year he attended the negotiations on this matter, carried on at Vienna. In December 1829 he earned great credit by the way he conducted the Treaty of Commerce between Austria and England, a treaty which proved very favourable to the former country ; and it was as a reward for his services on this occasion that he was created a commander of the Order of Leopold, a distinction which, according to the rules of the Order, carried with it the title of Baron, the diploma for which was dated August 31st, 1830.'

So far Wurzbach's record extends and no farther. Before proceeding with a summary of Neumann's career, it will be observed that no mention is made by Wurzbach of his parentage, although, as we have seen, the *dossier* of the Austrian State Archives states emphatically that he was the son of Karl Neumann. But there were other rumours current at the time, and one of these, which seems to have been repeated in a letter written by Ernest, King of

¹ It was in this year that Neumann first came to England.

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Hanover, to Lord Strangford in 1844, attributed his paternity to Prince Metternich. Apart from the fact that any statement made by Ernest, King of Hanover (more notoriously known as Ernest, Duke of Cumberland), would shed the gravest doubt on anything he affirmed—for a more discreditable man has hardly existed in recent times—the references to Metternich made by Neumann in the Diary, full of affection and admiration as they are, are not such as to lend any countenance to the report. Metternich regarded Neumann with an affection equal to that shewn him by the Diarist ; but the fact is that Neumann must have been an exceedingly attractive man, and there are many others, English people among them, who exhibited towards him a regard which (as, for instance, in the case of Wellington) might almost be regarded as paternal.

To turn again to Neumann's career. To Wurzbach's account of him prior to 1830 it should be added that he was in sole charge of the Embassy on two occasions : (1) from July 5th to November 3rd, 1815 ; and (2) from October 1842 to December 1844, when he was envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. After the year 1830, when Wurzbach leaves off his record, we find that, after having acted as *chargé d'affaires* in London during one of Prince Esterhazy's (the Austrian ambassador) frequent absences, Neumann, in 1833, returned to Vienna, where he remained, with intervals of travel in Italy, etc., till 1840, when he returned to England to take part in the negotiations for the settlement of the dispute between the Sultan of Turkey and his vassal, the Khedive—the Turco-Egyptian Affair to which so many references will be found in the following pages. In 1842 he paid another visit to his native city, but, although he apparently supposed that he was going to stay there some time, he again returned to England very shortly after.

On more than one occasion Neumann takes occasion to set down in his Diary a *résumé* of the important diplomatic affairs in which he took a leading part, and on December 4th, 1840, he writes that that day being the fifty-ninth anniversary of his birth and the thirty-seventh of his entry into the diplomatic service, he had then concluded in six years three important undertakings; while on July 13th, 1841, he thus summarises them, on the occasion of the completion of the Turco-Egyptian convention, which he says 'Is the fourth transaction I have concluded since 1835. The first was an Agnatic arrangement between the King of the Netherlands and the Duc de Nassau; the second the Treaty of Commerce with England; and the last two, the Conventions of July 15th, 1840, and July 13th, 1841.'

He had, too, at various times been offered diplomatic posts in other countries by Prince Metternich, but although at certain moments these were such as he would have desired, when the opportunities arrived for filling them he never seems to have cared or been able to accept them. This was the case when he was anxious to be appointed minister at Brussels. He records (on October 22nd, 1831) that Prince Esterhazy had applied to Metternich for this post on his behalf, but he was not appointed, either because Metternich had difficulty in fitting his diplomatic staff into the various posts at his command, or because he realised that Neumann was a *persona grata* in London, and therefore a specially valuable agent to have at the Court of St. James's.

Again, he was offered the post of minister at Washington; but this he refused, as he did a suggestion that he should on another occasion go in a like capacity to Switzerland.

The fact is that he was a man of moods, and there is no

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doubt that he was what is called a ladies' man. There are many references to his *affaires du cœur* scattered throughout the pages of his record, in which such charmers as the mysterious C. and another no less mysterious Madame M., Princess Esterhazy and Lady Caroline Montague, Miss Emily Johnstone (to whom he was actually engaged, but who died six months later to his profound and pathetically expressed grief), as well as others, had a place. The breaking off a *liaison* was enough to make him wish never again to see the country in which it had occurred ; the forming of a new one was sufficient to make him never want to leave it. He was, indeed, peculiarly temperamental ; and, however circumspect and careful he may have been as a diplomatist—and there is every evidence that he was a thoroughly competent and far-seeing one—when his imagination or his affections were touched he was very much the primeval man.

In 1842, on the resignation by Prince Esterhazy of the post of Austrian ambassador at the Court of St. James's, Neumann was nominated envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary here, while before that he had been accredited to London, in addition to his position as secretary, as a sort of *amicus curiae*, Prince Metternich realising his diplomatic successes and also the friendly footing on which he stood with the leaders of both political parties—Wellington and Peel on the one hand; Palmerston and Aberdeen on the other.

In the August of 1844 he became engaged to Lady Augusta Somerset, the eldest daughter of the seventh Duke of Beaufort, to whom he was married on the following December 5th.

In the previous November, having gone to Vienna on private business, he had been made a member of the Privy Council by the Emperor.

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Almost immediately after his marriage he and his wife left for Florence, where he had been nominated as envoy extraordinary and where he arrived on January 16th, 1845. Here he remained till 1847, when he was sent on a special mission to the Court of the Duke of Modena. The troubles that broke out not only in Austria but throughout Europe in 1848, for a time put an end to his diplomatic activities, and he returned to England in that year in a private capacity, a passage in the diary for the following December indicating how hopeless he was of ever being employed again. Eventually, however, the Neumanns returned to Vienna, and at last, after many promises which did not materialise, the Baron was appointed envoy to Brussels, although he would, he says, have preferred England or Italy or even Russia. He arrived there to take up his post at the beginning of 1850, and at this point the diary ceases, its writer living only a year after, as he died in Brussels on January 14th, 1851, at the age of 73.

Regarding Neumann in other than his diplomatic aspect, we shall find that he was a very cultivated man. He was a reader who appreciated Scott and Byron ; he was, if not a practical, at least a theoretical, musician who could judge of vocal and instrumental ability with the air and assurance of a critic. He seldom, indeed, missed going to the opera or to concerts, and at least on one occasion Queen Victoria took his advice as to the engagement of a singer of a superior quality to those who sometimes performed at the Palace. His remarks on Rubini and Tamburini, Grisi and Mario, and the rest, may be set side by side with his criticisms on theatrical exponents, from his unstinted praise of such as Rachel and Mars to his acute judgment concerning the acting of those who did not rise to the high standard he set up.

As a man in the society of London during a long period

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—some thirty-nine years off and on—he was an undoubted success ; and we find Prince Esterhazy on one occasion remarking to him that ‘ he held a commanding position in the world here.’ From the three sovereigns of this country with whom he had been associated downwards, he was a welcome guest at practically all the great houses in the metropolis and a large number in the country. There is hardly a well-known man or woman of the period with whom he was not on more or less terms of friendship. With the leaders of the two great political parties he was not merely a diplomatic colleague, but in many cases on the most intimate of terms, and his record of constant visits to Wellington at Strathfieldsaye and to Peel at Drayton, to Palmerston and Aberdeen and the rest, prove that his company was sought for other reasons than those political ones which might have rendered such invitations obligatory. He was by instinct and upbringing a Tory, but Lord and Lady Holland were delighted to have him at their Whig stronghold in Kensington. With Sarah Lady Jersey (not to be confounded with the notorious Frances) and Lord Hertford, with Lord Melbourne and the Duke of Devonshire, he was as much a *persona grata* as he was at Court, where, on several occasions, he was present at dinners and so forth *en petit comité*. When Leopold of the Belgians was over here he always made a point of having a talk about current affairs with him, and his visits to the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge in London and at Kew were frequent and characterised by the utmost intimacy.

In numbers of great country houses he was a welcome guest, and we find records of visits to Longleat and Strathfieldsaye and Brockett ; Maresfield Place and Badminton ; Stourhead and Wherestead Park ; Woburn and Oatlands and Stow and Moor Park, etc., scattered through the pages of the Diary.

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The fact is Neumann was a man who seems to have possessed the art of separating his diplomatic character from his social attitude. When at work at Chandos House¹ (then the Austrian Embassy) or discussing high politics with Palmerston and Baron Brunnow or Stockmar, or any of those with whom his business relations brought him in contact there or at The Travellers', of which he was an early member, he shewed himself a level, far-seeing man of affairs who, while possessing feelings of the utmost friendliness and regard for this country and its people, did not allow such sentiments to weigh with him when the good of his own land was in question. On the other hand, he seems to have been able when off duty, so to speak, to throw himself into the life and gaiety and sport which were for so much in the life of many of his social friends. To say he was a Viennese is to imply at once that he was a fine dancer; and, indeed, Gronow records his prowess in this direction at Almack's—a prowess which was also exhibited in the most exclusive of London's great private palaces. When he was in the country he as easily entered into the life there, and we find him hunting and shooting or playing whist with equal readiness, if not with equal success.

When we follow him to his own country we discover that, unlike some who have found favour among foreigners but have not been so universally successful among their own people—like the proverbial prophet—he is, if possible, even more a *persona grata* there than with us. From the Emperor and Prince Metternich (the real ruler) downwards, Neumann is always among the *élite* of Vienna or wherever he might find himself. Great Austrian names swim into our ken as we peruse his entries; while among the French he was as popular, his intimacy with Prince

¹ He lived here till 1841, when he took rooms at No. 10 Duke Street, W.

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Talleyrand and the Orléans family being hardly less cordial than it was with the Duke of Wellington or Prince Esterhazy. For him the Metternichs, both the Prince and Princess, evinced an affectionate regard, a regard he fully reciprocated, and some of the most interesting features of his Diary are the sidelights it sheds on the character of the remarkable man who ruled Austria so long and who was for so much in the downfall of its great enemy—Napoleon I.

I find but two people in the course of the following pages to whom Neumann ' was at pains to indicate a more or less active ' dislike—one was Count D'Orsay, whom he probably never knew sufficiently well to penetrate to the natural kindness and good breeding of that arch-dandy, a kindness and breeding which lay hidden beneath his superlative waistcoat and his ineffable cravats ; and the other was Prince Louis Napoleon, whom he invariably calls Louis Bonaparte, and whose appearance on one occasion at a reception where the Diarist was present was the signal for the latter's hasty retreat. But political matters had, no doubt, chiefly to do with this determined disinclination to foregather with the Man of Destiny whose star was not to rise to its meridian until the Diarist was dead.

Coming to us from an aristocratic environment and being himself a Tory of what is the fashion now to call the die-hard variety, he is often astounded at what he sees around him in this country and still more at the calm inapprehensiveness of our rulers. Other diarists have noted such things, Greville and Raikes and so on ; but here we have them viewed through foreign, though friendly, spectacles, and this constitutes one of the great values of the record in that it is practically the only one which does this. D'Orsay is said to have left an account of the society of his day, and Byron, who read it, vouched for the accuracy of the presentment. It could hardly have been so lengthy

as Neumann's, but perhaps its entries concerning certain people were fuller. However, it is undiscoverable, and I submit that the invaluable document here presented to the public will, on its social side alone, to no little extent compensate for the loss of the great dandy's record.

II

THE DIARY AND THE PERIOD

Neumann first arrived in London in 1814. The Diary which he kept does not, however, begin before the year 1819, when he was thirty-eight. From that time onward to the year 1850, he made, with certain *lacunæ*, an almost daily record of his life in London, abroad, on his holidays, and, during 1826, of his journey to Brazil. Many of the entries are but notes of social engagements, but the bulk, while detailing these, contain, in the form of conversations, anecdotes, and current gossip, sidelights on the outstanding figures in the political and social, the literary and musical life of London, Paris and Vienna, of thirty years of exceptional interest in all these directions. The special value and interest of the Diary lies in the fact that it not only gives us a picture of this long and pregnant period in our annals, but does so from the point of view of a foreigner, an aristocrat in sentiment, and a man who regarded this country with an affection only second to that which he felt for his own land. There can hardly have been a notable personage in this country, from the three sovereigns with whom he was acquainted downwards, whose name does not appear in the pages of this journal. No important event (and how many such events occurred during this period those who are but even slightly acquainted with the history of this country will realise) passes without his setting down something illuminating concerning it.

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The only diary covering practically the whole of this period is the well-known one kept by Charles Greville. That record has long been established as a document *pour servir*, as the French say, the labours of later historians. But Greville's diary, invaluable as it is, is here and there verbose ; here and there (especially in the latter part), if the truth must be told, a trifle heavy. Indeed, it is not a diary or a journal so much as an elaborate record of selected events and a collection of character-studies which, were not the witness's occasional intolerance and not infrequently intemperate and one-sided judgments remembered, would be of the greatest value in the estimate of the men and women with whom he lived his daily life. Neumann's record is, on the other hand, a diary pure and simple. Every day, or almost every day, he enters in it the names of those with whom he came in contact politically and socially ; he tells us the plays he saw and the concerts to which he listened ; the country houses he visited, and the further-flung places on the Continent to which he went at various times either on diplomatic business or for pleasure. Frequently such entries do not call for perpetuation, and such remarks as 'Dined with Lady Jersey ; afterwards went to an evening party at Lady Palmerston's,' or something of that sort, are obviously ruled out as being of no special interest when we have other much fuller records of visits to such-like interesting people in other parts of his diary. But more frequently his entries are made valuable by notes of conversations, anecdotes, and gossip of the day, and then they become important as helping to build up a picture of English society at a time when that society was undergoing a change from the free-and-easy days of the Regency to the strict and immaculate *aura* spread over it by the influence of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

For the period during which Neumann was living among us, and noting daily some event of more or less importance, was one of the most interesting and significant in our annals. It was the end of one *régime* and the beginning of another. It is often difficult exactly to realise when one epoch ceases and another begins. Fashions in thought and dress; manners and customs; fads and fancies, generally change gradually, merging into one another so that there are no sharp-cut edges, but an imperceptible change in the pattern of life's texture. But the period limited by the close of the Georgian era and the beginning of the Victorian was an exception to the general rule. There were, of course, obvious reasons for this. The first thirty-seven years of the nineteenth century had seen the close of George III.'s long reign and the blooming of that Regency flower which for two decades typified the life of the day. To continue the horticultural analogy, it was as though a great big very red peony was to be replaced by a budding white rose. Stated in simple words, the blustering age of George IV., whose characteristics were to no little extent carried on during his successor's ten years of sovereignty, suddenly gave place to a sedate and temperate period; and a fact recorded by Neumann that cards were not permitted at Windsor on a Sunday can be placed as a companion piece to the lurid happenings at Carlton House and the factitious atmosphere generated from the Cottage in Windsor Park of but a decade earlier. It does not always follow, of course, that the example set by a Court is necessarily followed by society at large. George III.'s influence, for instance, made little headway among the majority of the more highly placed among his subjects; but sooner or later it generally has its effect. In the case of Queen Victoria this effect seems to have been almost instantaneous, and if Lord Melbourne continued to swear by and large, it

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was certainly in a more discreet way. Her tender years, her innocence, something rather pathetic in her being exposed to so much anxiety and so much responsibility at so early an age, acted like a charm on her people. Society began to think ; and if it never wholly resigned itself to the restrained manners and decent customs of a new *régime*, it took care to act outwardly as if it did ; and the moment between the death-bed scene at Windsor and the famous early morning scene at Kensington Palace inaugurated an entirely new scheme of things.

That is why the difference between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is at first difficult to estimate ; for the eighteenth century, for all practical purposes, did not end till 1837.

The change that thus came over society, especially that section of society in which Neumann moved, can to some extent be detected in the pages of the following Diary ; although some general knowledge of the times is necessary to dot the i's and cross the t's of that record. What, however, are shewn here are the number of events familiar to us now as history, but then the passing topics of the day, owing their significance, or want of it, to the perspicacious outlook or otherwise of contemporaries.

The Diary begins on September 1st, 1819, practically on the eve of the death of George III., who expired at Windsor in the following January ; and it closes in 1850. The outstanding events which are, *inter alia*, recorded in it comprise, therefore, the accession and coronation of George IV., the Cato Street Conspiracy, the trial and death of Queen Caroline, the death of Napoleon I., the murder of the Duc de Berry and the fatal accident to the Duc d'Orléans, the trial of Hobhouse before the House of Commons for libel, the death of George IV., and accession of William IV., the excitement incident on the introduction and passing of the

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first Reform Bill, the revolutions in Spain and Portugal ; the death of King William and the accession of Queen Victoria ; her marriage ; the two attempts on her life by Francis and Oxford ; the Chinese and Afghan Wars ; with a long *etcetera*.

Were these the only topics dealt with by the Diarist, however, his record, apart from its special interest as being that of a foreigner seeing things through friendly but alien eyes, would be but an exploration of already much-discovered ground. The particular value of the Diary lies in the fact that while dealing with such matters, often at considerable length, it affords us not only a general picture of life in London, in Paris, in Vienna and elsewhere, during a long period, but it brings us into touch with a vast number of men and women, many of whom were pulling the strings of politics and fashion, and not a few of whom have become familiar figures and household names. For instance, the frequent conversations Neumann had (and records) with Talleyrand and Metternich, Wellington and Palmerston and Peel, to mention but these, shed fresh light on the characters of these illustrious men, and sometimes confirm anecdotes which have been elsewhere set down. The Diarist's intimacy with a number of great ladies—Lady Jersey, Princess Esterhazy, the Duchesse de Dino, Princess Lieven, to name but these, is productive of much that will interest the lover of the gossip of a past day as well as not a little which has helped to make history.

The more general outlook on life on the Continent during these years is not less vividly recorded. I have already said that Neumann was a *persona grata* at several courts. Louis Philippe and the rest of the Orléans family treated him in as friendly a way as did the members of our own royal family ; and his intimacy with political personages and diplomatists enabled him to be *au courant* with events

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and often with their lesser known causes and aims. With Spanish and Portuguese affairs he was (as an actor in much that concerned these countries) himself as thoroughly familiar as he was with the doings of his own court, at that time so closely associated with the Peninsula. His journey to Brazil, of which a full account is given in the Diary, enabled him to investigate a country which was then something of a *terra incognita*; and his descriptions of the rulers of that land, its natural characteristics and potentialities will now be read with special interest.

With regard to the more social side of Neumann's record, we find many valuable criticisms of the things he saw in London and elsewhere; the plays he witnessed, the operas and concerts he heard; the dancers (Taglioni and the rest) whose gyrations he criticised with the authority of a Terpsichorean expert.

He was, too, an inveterate sightseer, and seems always happy when convoying friends or visitors about London; and whether it be the Tower or the Docks, Meux's brewery or Newgate, or Bedlam Hospital, he generally has something pertinent or suggestive to remark concerning what he has seen.

His criticisms of people are as acute as those of places. Sometimes he gives a character of a man or a woman which, if not on the full-length scale affected by Greville, nevertheless conveys a vivid impression of the personality described. At other times he records the opinions on momentous occurrences which he hears from the lips of their protagonists—Talleyrand or Wellington or Metternich, as the case may be. We thus obtain from his pages much information bearing on famous events from, as it were, a new angle; and if a few of the anecdotes he relates are already known, by far the majority are new. With regard to such an event as the Reform Bill, he gives us the

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necessary data ; but to realise the excitement engendered at the time by even the threat of that measure, it is necessary to supplement his remarks by the fuller statements of more directly interested people, such as Greville or Raikes, or the almost hysterical joy with which Creevy hailed the final triumph of Lord Grey and his colleagues on May 18th, 1832.

In the course of the Diary Neumann shews a special interest in art, and whether he is in a public gallery on the Continent, at the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy, inspecting the pictorial treasures in some private house, or visiting a sculptor's studio, he has always something pregnant to say about what he has been examining. Those who would learn more of the pictures he particularises should turn to Waagen's *Treasures of Art*, which is a contemporary and expert account of those works, many of which attracted the Diarist's amateur but by no means inexpert attention.

Those who would confirm his statements on political matters will find much corroborating matter in the *Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino*,¹ in those of Prince Metternich,² and, as I have already said, in the well-known diaries of Charles Greville, Raikes and Creevey, Moore and Croker, etc. With regard to his musical references, the journal of Henry Greville, himself a keen musician, and the more specialised works on that art will be found complementary ; while Southey's *History of Brazil* is a valuable aid to which to refer in connection with our Diarist's journey to, and remarks on, that country.

Many of those he met socially swim into our ken in the pages of Gronow (who refers once or twice directly to Neumann) ; while his more intimate records of Wellington can be compared with those of Lady Shelley, Lord Elles-

¹ 4 vols. (1909).

² 5 vols. (1880-2).

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mere, and others who have written on the private life of one who was a hero to all of them.

Neumann, in the course of his diplomatic duties as well as on the occasions of holidays and pleasure jaunts, travelled about much both in this country and on the Continent. In some cases his itinerary and the time occupied in his travelling, which he is at pains to record, are preserved in the following pages as being of special interest in that such data indicate the marked differences in the mode and time occupied in transit a hundred years ago from what obtains to-day.

Taken as a whole, the Diary of Baron Neumann is one of extreme importance to all interested in the political and social life not only of this country but of the Continent during the years 1819 to 1850. The high and responsible position occupied by the writer ; the large and varied circle of his acquaintances ; his interest not only in his special world of politics and diplomacy, but in those of art, music, and literature ; his undoubted charm of manner¹ which made him a favourite at court and welcome among the highest circles of at least three capitals ; all combine to give his record of men and things a significance of its own. It has, too, as agreeable a variety in its tone as it has in the topics with which it deals. At one time it is serious as befitting matters of high politics ; at another light and sometimes almost flippant in its references to passing events or its characters of contemporaries. Here a line or two records the meeting with some notable man or woman, or the Diarist's presence at some great function. But as often the entries are full and vivid, and when he is recording some of Talleyrand's reminiscences (and when Talleyrand

¹ Moore notes how, when he wanted to get his son Tom into the Austrian Service, Neumann was most friendly and, to use the poet's own words, 'said he would do all he could towards forwarding my object.' Moore's *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 325.

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talked, he was full of them), or Wellington's views on some of his great battles, Toulouse or Waterloo or Salamanca ; or Marshal Marmont, on the 1830 Revolution ; or stories of Napoleon's first meeting with Madame Walewska and his abandonment of the projected invasion of England ; or Queen Victoria's comments on Oxford's attempt to assassinate her, he gives us sidelights on notable events and people of the utmost value. He was obviously fond of ceremonial, and his reports of the three coronations at which he was present in this country are specially notable.

Throughout, the Diary, even when it perpetuates serious and important matters, makes light and pleasant reading. For it is really a diary, written clearly with no thought of publication, and thus free from that somewhat factitious style which, in spite of their essential value, detracts from the easy charm of not a few similar records. In it those whose names have long become historic, in some cases even legendary, live again, and here we are with one who was not only in but of the highest society in the world, visiting Strathfieldsaye or Badminton or Longleat ; meeting Macaulay and Luttrell at Holland House (and even its redoubtable chatelaine seems to have been polite to the writer) ; being introduced to the Contessa Guiccioli and wondering what Byron saw in her ; dining with Lady Blessington, or talking to the amazing old Lady Cork, and at one time almost living in Talleyrand's pocket ; with one, too, of whom Wellington once wrote : 'He is an excellent man. I have known him for many years ; and I do not know a better.'¹

¹ Some interesting sidelights on Neumann will be found in *The Unpublished Diary of Princess Lieven*, edited by Mr. Harold Temperley in 1924.

SECTION I

THE DIARY FROM SEPTEMBER 1819 TO DECEMBER 1820

IN September 1819, on the first of which month Neumann begins his diary, we find him staying at Middleton Park, Bicester, the seat of the Earl of Jersey. At this time he was Secretary to the Austrian Embassy in London, and this position, coupled with his amiable and generally attractive character, made him a welcome guest at a number of great houses. On this occasion his hostess was Sarah, Countess of Jersey, daughter of the 10th Earl of Westmorland and wife of the 5th Earl of Jersey. Among his fellow-guests were Counts Lieven, Pahlen and Capodistrias. The last, of whom Neumann gives a character-sketch, was afterwards President of Greece, and was murdered in September 1831 by the brother and son of a Mainote chief whom he had caused to be imprisoned, a fact adumbrated in a line of Byron's *Age of Bronze*. Count Pahlen was at one time thought likely to become the husband of Miss Mercer who eventually became the wife of the Count de Flahault, while Count Lieven was the husband of the more famous Countess, the haughty patroness of Almack's who, born a Benckendorff, married Lt.-General Count Lieven in 1800 and became so politically active in this country both as Countess and, later, Princess Lieven.

1819

Middleton, Sept. 1-2. Made an expedition to Stow with Counts Pahlen, Lieven and Capodistrias. The last expressed his admiration at the way in which this country is organised, but at the same time blamed the Ministry and above all the Prince Regent, and indicated how little he regarded both. He also showed what he thought of the King of Spain,¹ condemning him whole-heartedly: he holds that on returning to his kingdom he should have

¹ Ferdinand VII., b. 1784, d. 1833. He began his reign in 1808 on the abdication of Charles IV. He was married four times.

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identified himself with the spirit of the nation, and not antagonised it as well as the colonies. Counts Lieven and Capodistrias left for Cirencester ; the latter in conversation with Lady Jersey dropped certain expressions which show that he does not think much of the French nation or of its government, and not more of M. Décazes,¹ about whom he made some humorous remarks.

Count Capodistrias seems to be a well-informed man ; he has studied men and affairs ; but he is rather a philosopher than a statesman, with particularly liberal and constitutional ideas. He sympathises with the sentiments of the age without going so far as to agree with its errors ; he considers that one should not attempt to stop a strong tendency, but should restrict oneself to curbing it and obviating as much as possible the evils that may be produced by its action. He is a man at once systematic and of a speculative turn of mind, possessing great eloquence, only saying exactly what he wants to, and always anxious to produce an impression. He never utters a word too much, but speaks deliberately in order to show to the best advantage ; his arguments are so subtle as to lend themselves nearly always to a double meaning, and although one cannot always approve of them, on the other hand one cannot wholly condemn them. In order to understand him one would have to get to the bottom of his ideas, and this he does not let you do, always avoiding any discussion that would oblige him to explain and develop his thoughts. When he went away he left everyone delighted with his manners, his wit and his behaviour.

Sept. 4th. Passed the day with the de Lihns at Cheltenham. Dined with them and afterwards went with them to the theatre where *Guy Mannering* was performed, with Miss Tree,² a pretty actress, as Lucy Bertram.

Sept. 5th. Left for Cirencester where I met the Duchess of Richmond and her two daughters, Sir Charles³ and

¹ Le Duc Décazes, *b.* 1780, *d.* 1860. Prime Minister in 1818, resigned in 1820, in which year he became ambassador in London.

² Afterwards Mrs. Charles Kean. She was at this time but 15.

³ Father of the Diarist. Lady (Charlotte) Greville was a daughter of the 3rd Duke of Portland.

Lady Greville with their daughter and their son Henry,¹ Lord Charles Fitzroy, and Mr. Vilhers. Capodistrias had gone away with Count Lieven last evening, leaving everyone delighted with his wit and charm. He had stayed a day longer than he intended to.

As one journeys from Cheltenham to Cirencester one passes by a hill from which a superb view is obtainable ; Malvern is on the right, Gloucester with its lovely cathedral on the left ; and beyond, the Severn and the Welsh mountains.

Sept. 6th. The Duchess of Richmond left to go to stay with Madame Dupré, and Lord Charles Fitzroy and Mr. Villiers for Badminton, from which place Charles Greville has arrived. Went for a drive in the park with Lady Georgiana Bathurst, Lady Charles Greville and Pahlen.

Sept. 8th. Left for Badminton, the Duke of Beaufort's seat in Gloucestershire. It is a fine place about which everything partakes of an air of grandeur. The Duke had gone to Bristol to attend a meeting. He is a man who fills his position to a nicety, a *grand seigneur* in everything he does. The Duchess, a sister of the Marquess of Stafford, Lord Granville and Lady Harrowby, is noted for her domestic virtues ; she has eleven children whom she has always about her. She is rather their companion than their elder. Lord and Lady Granville were there, also Lord Charles Fitzroy, grandson of the Duke of Grafton, Mr. George Villiers and the three Miss Elliotts. In the evening Lady Granville played the piano.

Sept. 9th. A drive with Lady Charles Somerset, two Miss Elliotts and a Miss Stuart. We went to see Sir Bethel Codrington's place.² He is a very rich man, drawing his wealth from the West Indies. His park is charming, but the house is too vast and is overwhelmed by an immense portico. It contains several fine pictures. The woman who showed them did not know the artists' names, and ingenuously remarked that her master didn't either.

Sept. 11th. Rode with the Duke, Lady Georgiana, Miss

¹ He, though not so well known as his brother Charles, also wrote a very interesting diary.

² Dodington Park, Chipping Sodbury.

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Stuart, Lord Henry, Mr. Villiers and Pahlen. Passed Hawkesbury, Lord Liverpool's place, from which he takes his second title. The village has a delightful view over the valley of the Severn.

Sept. 13th. Arrived at Longleat where I found no one but the family. It belongs to the Marquess of Bath, and the park is one of the finest in England.

Sept. 15th. Went to Stourhead¹ and left there the same evening for Southampton, where I arrived the next morning, and immediately went on to Cowes, the journey taking one and a half hours. Found Lady Harrowby and Montague there; they had just arrived from London. We walked with Lady Ebrington and her sister Lady Mary² in a garden whence one gets a beautiful view of the sea. Lord Ebrington³ and Granville Ryder, a son of Lord Harrowby's, and a midshipman, each arrived from a different place; and here we were, five men who had all travelled during the night from various parts, none of us knowing he would meet the others. We were all so tired that the ladies could hardly have been flattered at our futile efforts to vanquish the need for slumber.

Sept. 17th. Walked along the Undercliff with the whole of Lady Harrowby's house party, where we saw the mansion belonging to a Mr. Arnold at St. Lawrence, then that of Mr. Pelham and that of Lord Dysart, all close to the sea and remarkable for their picturesque setting. We dined at a place near Steep-Hill Castle, and returned very late.

Sept. 18th. Went on the sea with Lord and Lady Ebrington, his two sisters, his brother, Montague and Pahlen. Dined with them afterwards. A lovely day. The Prince Regent arrived in his yacht.

Sept. 19th. Walked with Lady Harrowby to see the houses of Lord Henry Seymour⁴ and Mr. Nash,⁵ built in the old style. Lord Henry is an 'original' who tries to

¹ The seat of Sir Richard Colt-Hoare, the well-known antiquary.

² Lady Mary Ryder, daughter of the 1st Earl of Harrowby. She married Admiral Saurin in 1828.

³ Son of the 1st Earl Fortescue, whom he succeeded in 1841.

⁴ Son of 2nd Marquess of Hertford, well known in Paris as 'Milord Arsouille.'

⁵ The well-known architect, 1752-1835, creator of Regent Street, etc.

attract attention by his unusual style of dress. He looks more like the jailer than the owner of his house, which exactly resembles a castle of the middle ages. That of Mr. Nash would be suitable rather to a *grand seigneur* than an architect.

Sept. 20th. Arrived at Portsmouth in an hour and three quarters in consequence of an adverse wind which made it necessary to tack the whole time. Montague and Tisdale (? Teesdale) who were to join us, arrived there accompanied by Lord and Lady Ebrington and the two sisters of the former. To our great astonishment the ladies came in a small boat from Cowes, and on landing it turned over, happily without further accident than their getting a wetting. We saw Portsmouth arsenal which is one of the largest in existence. The machine for making ship-blocks is the most ingenious affair; it was invented by Mr. Brunel;¹ a block cut from the trunk of a tree is completed in five minutes. We saw also the battleship 'Queen Charlotte,' which carried Lord Exmouth when he made his last attack on Algiers. It is now the flagship of Lord George Campbell, the Governor of Portsmouth.

Sept. 27th. While riding in Hyde Park my groom fell from his horse and hurt his foot badly. I dined at the Piazza Coffee House and later went to Lady Floyd who had offered me a place in her box at Covent Garden. They performed *Hamlet*. Charles Kemble filled the title-rôle, and did it very well. He has a noble presence, but puts too much pathos into the part for which, too, he is not young enough. Miss Mathews² as Ophelia so overdid the character, one of the most interesting in English tragedy, that she almost made a caricature of it. It is a pity that a play containing so many beauties should be spoilt, as most of Shakespeare's are, by certain blemishes of taste. In spite of excisions, much had been left in which may suit the spirit of the people but to which others object. But the management has to consider the former rather than the latter.

¹ Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, *b.* 1769, *d.* 1849. He invented the machine for making ships' blocks in 1808.

² Probably daughter of Charles Mathews the elder.

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Sept. 29th. Dined with Lady Jersey *en petit comité*. Sir R. Wilson¹ came in later, and his hostess twitted him a good deal about the meeting over which he presided in Southwark relative to the Manchester affair.²

Oct. 2nd. Rode with Count Lieven. The Persian Ambassador with Mr. Morier,³ Planta, and young Smirnoff came to dinner.

Oct. 3rd. Rode out with Count Lieven by way of Blendon to Bexley. Count Palmella⁴ arrived. He came from the Marquess of Hertford's where he had met Lord Castlereagh who promised to have verbal instructions sent to Madrid by Sir H. Wellesley to the effect that if Spain attempted to recapture Monte Video, whether she was successful or not, she could no longer rely on our mediation in her differences with Portugal. Count Palmella has been ordered to propose that Spain should send one of her royal princes to the colonies, and that then she should of her own accord give up Monte Video. Planta told me that Count Capodistrias regarded the movements of Germany as fanciful, and foreseeing that Prince Metternich would want to support them, had avoided meeting him.

Oct. 5th. Dined at Baron Fagel's⁵ with the Dutch delegate just returned from Java, where he had been sent to take possession of the island. He was shipwrecked on his return and remained for ten days on one of the islands of St. Maurice, from which he was rescued by an English brig. He had with him the son of a landowner in Java, who appeared quite at home with European customs.

Oct. 6th. Went to Wherstead in Suffolk, Lady Granville's, with Pahlen. There I found Montague, Byng, Luttrell,⁶ Nugent, and F. Ponsonby.

Oct. 7th. I was unwell and ate nothing all day, nevertheless I went down to the drawing-room after 10 o'clock,

¹ Sir Robert Wilson, b. 1777, d. 1849. A general and an author.

² The so-called Peterloo Massacre, Aug 16th, 1819.

³ James Morier, the writer, 1780-1849.

⁴ Afterwards created a Duke. He represented Portugal at the Court of St. James's, and died in 1850. See also page 28.

⁵ He was Dutch Minister in London. Raikes mentions him several times.

⁶ The well-known wit and man about town.



SARAH, COUNTESS OF JERSEY
From a drawing by A. E Chalon, R A , dated 1839

and there found Charles Greville who had just arrived. Lord Charles Fitzroy came at 11, but did not put in an appearance, not wishing to change so late. This seemed to me a striking example of the formality of English customs, which do not allow of one appearing after a certain hour in clothes which are appropriate to another period of the day. Everything here has to give way to convention, even the dearest affections and sentiments; but in a country where liberty and licence are so allied it is only by such restrictions that one can prevent them overlapping.

Oct. 9th. Went out shooting, but hit nothing, notwithstanding the abundance of partridges we saw. My companions, Lord Charles Fitzroy, F. Ponsonby, and Montague, would have it that I had got a bad gun; but I knew quite well that it was my own clumsiness that was the cause. I returned tired out, having walked twelve miles without bringing anything back except a good appetite.

Oct. 10th. Rode with Lord Granville, Miss Stuart, Montague and Pahlen, to see a place belonging to Mr. Berners, on the banks of the Orwell, with a lovely view along the river.

Oct. 11th. Spent the whole day over *Don Juan*, Lord Byron's latest poem, which I read with particular interest. It is an extraordinary work full of genius and style.

Oct. 12th. Went to Ipswich to hear an oratorio—a most tiresome affair—and to a luncheon with Vice-Admiral Page—which was more tiresome still. At night Pahlen and I left for London.

Oct. 13th. Dined at Brunet's with Pahlen, and afterwards went to Covent Garden to see *Love for Love* by Congreve, full of indecencies.

Oct. 14th. A very curious case was heard to-day at the King's Bench. A Mr. Carlile¹ had published a work by Thomas Paine proving that the Bible was filled with absurdities, obscenities, and other scandalous matter. He had cited as witnesses the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chief Rabbi, and the Astronomer Royal, Mr. Bond, in

¹ The notorious Richard Carlile, who in 1828 was living at 62 Fleet Street. He was a well-known freethinker, and wrote and lectured in that vein.

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order to examine them, and above all to get the last to explain how it was possible for Joshua to make the sun stand still before Jericho. The scandal caused by this man during the trial so affected the jury that they condemned him without hesitation.

Oct. 15th. Dined at Charles Bagot's with Mr. Trerice, Mr. Stratford Canning, Sir W. Scott, Mr. Hamilton, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and Mr. Poggenpohl.¹ Mrs. Bagot being unwell did not appear. In the morning I saw Madame de Lieven who was very troubled and ill, not having yet given birth to her child. On leaving she squeezed my hand and said that she feared she was seeing me for the last time, so obsessed is she that she will not survive the event.

Oct. 16th. Went to see Lord Castlereagh at North Cray, and returned during the day. Madame de Lieven gave birth to a boy while her husband was at the play with his sons.

Oct. 23rd. Was with Lord Castlereagh in St. James's Square,² and left with him my despatches which he was going to take to Lord Suffield, in Norfolk. Dined at the Travellers' Club³ with Count Palmella, Count Linhares, and Pahlen, and we spent the evening playing billiards.

Oct. 27th. Was with Sir W. Congreve,⁴ who showed me the new machines for printing banknotes in different colours. Dined with Count Lieven, to meet Baron Fagel, Lord Hardwick, Lord St. Helens, and the young Prince Gustave, son of the King of Sweden.⁵ The manners of the last are very attractive and he is a modest young man. The interest he inspires will go a great way towards recovering a throne of which he has been deprived by the most frightful injustice. M. de Polier, who attended him, is a man of the world in every way.

Nov. 1st. There was a meeting in Finsbury Market which was not the success that had been anticipated,

¹ Attached to the Russian Embassy, and later Minister in Madrid.

² He was later 2nd Marquess of Londonderry, and occupied No. 18 from 1806-1822.

³ It had been started this year in a house in Waterloo Place.

⁴ The inventor of the Congreve Rocket (1772-1828).

⁵ Charles, who died in 1818, when Bernadotte (Charles XIV.) became King.

discord having broken out among the reformers. Dined with Mrs. Mitchell, Morier and Warrender¹ being among other guests. We were regaled with a dinner and a family concert afterwards which upset our stomachs as much as our ears.

Nov. 2nd. Dined at Brunet's, and then to the play where *The Way to Ruin*² and *Arthur and Emmeline*, a fairy opera by Dryden, were performed. The incidental music, although earlier than that of Handel, and rather in his style, was pleasant. The decorations in the first act were superb, but the chief attractions were the beauty of Miss Foote's eyes³ and that of Miss Tree's legs.

Nov. 3rd. Went to Drury Lane with Lady Macfarlane, Lady Caroline Stanhope and Lord Petersham. They acted *The Beggar's Opera*, a curious composition which made its author's fortune. It is *Don Juan* in English, of a class of society less elevated than that of the Spanish hero, with this difference, that his crimes are punished, whereas Macheath, who is a highwayman condemned to be hanged, is let off; why, is not very clear.

Nov. 7th. Went to Covent Garden to see a comedy by Cibber entitled *Love makes a Man*. It is old fashioned, full of wit, but it contains dull passages. Dined with Sir G. Warrender, who keeps an excellent table.

Nov. 13th. Dined at Brunet's and afterwards to Covent Garden to see *Confederacy*, a comedy in three acts by Bunbury; it is witty but rather broad. The plot hinges on two misers each of whom has a spendthrift wife with whom they become reciprocally in love. Love and avarice in opposition give opportunity for some capital scenes in which Farren would have been better if he had refrained from making such facial contortions. Mrs. Gibbs, as the maid-servant who carries on the intrigue, played her part to perfection.

Nov. 14th. The *Observer* for to-day says that 63 newspapers are printed in London, 120 in various counties of

¹ Sir George Warrender, nicknamed 'Provender' on account of his good dinners.

² This is perhaps Holcroft's *Road to Ruin*.

³ Maria Foote, married afterwards to the Earl of Harrington (1797-1867).

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England and Wales, excluding Middlesex, and 28 in Scotland, making a total of 211, not including Ireland where there are about a third of this number.

Nov. 15th. Went to Covent Garden where *Richard III.* was given. It was played by Macready who is as much a mountebank in the part as Kean at Drury Lane, but does not possess the talent of the latter.

During the few following days Neumann has only entries of dinner engagements, among his hosts being the Lievens, Count Palmella and the de Lihns. On November 23rd he records the opening of Parliament and the debate on the so-called Manchester or Peterloo Massacre which occurred this year. On the 25th he dines with Count Lieven :

Nov. 25th. Dinner with Count Lieven, the Granvilles, Harrowby and the Duke of Wellington. The last told us that Madame de Staël had said that she suspected Benjamin Constant of being the author of the *Manuscript from St. Helena*, because there was no one in France except him capable of having written it ; that having read it at her house, he left directly he had finished, without awaiting anyone's opinion of the work. The Duke added that he knew Murray, the Publisher, had received it by the hands of one of Madame de Staël's messengers. The Duke spoke of the Battle of Toulouse, which is apparently the one on which he prides himself the most. Having attacked the French in one of the most awkward positions possible, he had to manœuvre under their fire in order to turn their positions, which were carried by the sheer bravery of the English. He said it was the battle in which most science had been shown. He was once talking in Paris to Marshal Suchet,¹ who was anxious for an exact history of the affair, and a list of the various French and English officers engaged. Some weeks later Marshal Suchet sent to the Duke a plan of the battle which showed none of the manœuvres and was so absolutely a made-up one, misrepresenting the facts to such a degree, that the Duke, while admiring the way in which it was drawn, could do nothing with it, and returned it without comment.

¹ Louis Gabriel, Duc D'Albuféra, b. 1770, d. 1826, one of Napoleon's generals.

The Princess Esterhazy referred to in the following entry was ~~the~~¹ lady with whom, according to Gronow, Neumann was frequently seen dancing at Almack's, of which she was one of the two lady patronesses with foreign titles, Princess Lieven being the other. She was born Princess Theresa of Thurn and Taxis, and married Prince Paul Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador. Their son, Prince Nicholas, married in 1842 Lady Sarah Villiers, daughter of the Earl of Jersey. A portrait of her is given at page 34.

The debates on the Manchester or Peterloo Massacre, as it was called (in consequence of the troops firing and killing some of those who had assembled on behalf of reform under the leadership of Hunt), were the chief topic at the time.

Nov. 26th. Levée at Carlton House. The Regent spoke to me a good deal about the return of Princess Esterhazy in a way not very flattering to that lady. He indicated his satisfaction at the last despatches from Warsaw which I had communicated to Lord Castlereagh. The latter had, by the way, a triumph over the Manchester affair, in the House, carrying his motion by a majority of 381 as against only 150 on the 24th.

Nov. 30th. Went to the House of Lords to hear Lord Lansdowne's motion on the state of the nation and particularly on the Manchester affair. Lords Wellesley and Grenville spoke in support of the Ministry, and both, but especially the latter, were very eloquent. Lord Grey was less so than usual. Lord Liverpool was convincing by the force of his arguments and the marshalling of his facts.

Dec. 4th. Reception at Lady Hertford's, where the Prince Regent discussed German affairs with me for a considerable time. He told me that he saw no other means of maintaining this great confederation than by replacing the Imperial crown on the head of the Emperor of Austria, and that he, as King of Hanover, would propose doing this.

Neumann was a man of many interests, and was as fond of the theatre as he was of music. He seldom goes to a play without setting down in his diary some critical remarks on the actors and, as in the following entry, some reflections on the piece performed.

Dec. 11th. Went with Pahlen to Covent Garden to see Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, of which the plot hinges on two brothers and two men servants who resemble one

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another so closely as to produce all sorts of embarrassing situations. Regnard might have supposed he was witnessing his comedy of *Ménæchmes*. The fact is these plays read better than they act, because the illusion is destroyed by the want of resemblance, which is always lacking among actors. Terence gave the first idea of such pieces, but then the actors played in masks and the illusion was complete. The airs introduced and sung by Miss Tree and Miss Stephens did not add to the effectiveness of the play.

John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, referred to in the following entry, was, of course, the friend of Byron, and was born in 1786 and died in 1869. The libel was contained in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *A Trifling Mistake in Thomas, Lord Erskine's Recent Prefaces &c.*, the publication of which was regarded as a breach of privilege by Parliament.

Dec. 13th. Went to the House of Commons to hear judgment passed on Mr. Hobhouse, who had published a libel. According to usage the printer was cited at first, but the author having himself confessed, the former was dismissed without having to say or do anything. Mr. Hobhouse then being brought forward was condemned to be imprisoned in Newgate, thus being a judge and party to his own cause.

During the remainder of this year Neumann paid a series of country visits, although before leaving London he was present at a ball given by the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke de San Carlos, in honour of the marriage of the Queen of Spain (Maria Antonia of Naples wedded to Ferdinand VII), at which he tells us 'the populace was so insolent that the military had to be sent for.'

The first country house he visited was Maresfield Place, the seat of Sir John Shelley, father of the poet, where he found a party composed of the de Lihns, a Miss Fraser, Major and Mrs. Synge, and Miss Townsend, the two last-named ladies being noted beauties of the day. They were joined later by Sir Alexander Dun, whom Neumann had met in Paris when he was a prisoner of war there in 1808, and Peel, who had then but recently given up the Secretanship for Ireland which he had held since 1812 and of whom Neumann foretells that 'he is destined to play a great part in politics not only by his talents but by the possession of £50,000 a year.'

From Maresfield Neumann went to Strathfieldsaye with Count Palmella. There he found Lord and Lady Castlereagh, Lord West-

morland and his daughter Lady Georgiana Fane, Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot, Mr Pole and M. Planta. Of the Duke of Wellington's famous abode he does not speak enthusiastically. 'the house,' he writes, 'is not very comfortable, the park ugly, the living mediocre, the whole indeed indicating the lack of sympathy existing between the Duke and his Duchess.' He finds the former, however, a 'man of most simple, amiable character and one possessing all the qualities which contrast so vividly with those that have rendered him immortal.' On December 27th Neumann left Strathfieldsaye and returned to London by way of Windsor Park, taking four hours to cover the forty-five miles.

1820

Neumann, whose love of the theatre is a characteristic that appears markedly throughout his diary, began the new year appropriately by witnessing Schiller's *Marie Stuart* at Covent Garden, but so badly acted was it that he remarks, 'it was as if they were trying to produce a parody of this fine tragedy.' The following evening (January 4th) he dines with Count Lieven, among the guests being the Duke of York, the Duke of Wellington, Lords Cathcart and St. Helens, and Mr. Croker.

Jan. 4th. The Duke of Wellington, questioned about Waterloo, said, among other things, that he was convinced that Bonaparte had 20,000 more men than he, and that the French army numbered at least 80,000, whereas he had but 60,000. He spoke of the scandal of Savary's¹ acquittal and that of Colonel Brice, observing that nothing in this war was astonishing now that the French soldiers who had been present at Waterloo were allowed to count that fact equivalent to two years' service equally with those who formed part of the King's army at Ghent.

Dining the next day with Count Palmella, he heard Count Funchal,² who came in later, tell the following anecdote. King Gustavus III. of Sweden said to M. de Laouse, a Gascon by birth and French ambassador at Copenhagen, 'You are a Gascon, are you not?' 'I am from Gascony, Sire,' he replied, and turning to his diplomatic colleagues, he remarked, 'I ought to have said "from the south."'

¹ Duc de Rovigo, 1774-1833. He presided at the Due D'Enghien's trial in 1804.

² Later ambassador for King Pedro^{VII} of Portugal. He died at Brighton in 1833.

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On January 6th Neumann is again at the play : 'Dined at the club (The Travellers') with Planta and Lord Ancrum, after which we went to Covent Garden to see *Rob Roy MacGregor*, taken from Scott's romance and giving an excellent idea of Scottish life'; again two days later he went to the first representation of *La Cenerentola*, which he found too reminiscent of Rossini. There he heard from the Countess Palmella that a marriage had been arranged between the sister of the Count, Donna Catherina de Souza, and the Count Linhares; while at a dinner at the Lieven's, on the 13th, where he met the Hertfords and Wellington, he heard the latter express the opinion that Soult was not so capable a general as he had at first supposed.

On the 15th he left London for Wherstead with the Lievens, and there met a succession of guests, including Lord Granville, Lord Gower, Lady Harrowby, and the Duke of Wellington who arrived the next day. Music was the order of the evening, and 'the Duke seems to like it very much without knowing much about it,' is Neumann's comment. He adds some interesting remarks concerning the great man 'whose simplicity astonishes me more and more.' 'He told me that his troops had to march twenty-five miles before the Battle of Vittoria; that they fought on a front of ten miles, and that, notwithstanding this, the day after the battle half the army disbanded themselves and went back ten miles in order to pillage the baggage and the enormous booty which they had taken from the French; that had not this been so he would have pursued the enemy's army and captured at least half of it, that the most terrible moment is either the loss or the gaining of a battle, because the physical forces were ordinarily so exhausted that it required as much energy to follow up a success as to retire, and that it was with the greatest difficulty that victorious troops could be persuaded to advance. He told us also that he never had more than 100 pieces of cannon in any battle, including Waterloo where Bonaparte had 300.'

Neumann remained at Wherstead Park till the 25th, and as the weather was bad occupied a part of his leisure in reading *Ivanhoe*, which had recently appeared. Passing through London he went on the 29th to Woburn.

Jan. 29th. Went to Woburn where I found Lady Harrowby¹ and her daughter Lady Mary, Lord and Lady Ebrington, Lady W. Russell, a Miss Russell, sister of Francis Luttrell, and Standish. Woburn is one of the finest places in England. The Duke of Bedford keeps up royal state, and the Duchess, a daughter of the Duke of Gordon, does the honours charmingly. The house was at

¹ Susan, daughter of the 1st Marquess of Stafford.

one time a Carthusian monastery which was sequestrated by Henry VIII. and given to the Russell who founded the family. They say the abbot was hanged by Henry's orders from an oak still pointed out in the park. When the Duke showed this tree to Lord Alvanley, the latter said, 'Cut it down, you don't know what may happen!' The present Duke has caused many improvements to be made here, among others the construction of a gallery, or rather a museum, which was originally an orangery. When Canova was here three years ago he made certain alterations. Among objects of interest are the *Three Graces*¹ by this great sculptor, bas-reliefs from the Roman period, and a little temple consecrated to the memory of Fox.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Seymour, the Sergeant-at-Arms, who was among the guests, received a message from the Speaker to the effect that the old King (George III.) had died on Saturday the 29th at 8.35 in the evening, and he had to go at once to London.

The death of George III., whom Creevey calls 'the gentleman at the end of Pall Mall,' occurred at Windsor, where he had been for ten years in a state of harmless insanity and quite blind. Apart from the natural excitement consequent on such an event and the accession of the new king, George III.'s death had a further consequence, of which we shall see the effect in subsequent entries in the diary—the return of Queen Caroline to assert her rights, and the troubles that ensued from this.

Neumann returned to London on the following day, and at once went to write his name at Carlton House, where he heard that the new King was suffering from an affection of the chest and was very ill. However, the next day he was better, and Neumann was able to resume his dining out. On February 5th he is at Mr. Chinnery's, where, after dinner, a concert was given by Viotti, Spagnoletti and Bragus, of the first of whom he says 'if age has affected his execution, it has taken nothing from his fire and exquisite taste.' The following evening he meets, among others, Wellington at Count Lieven's, as he did again on the 9th, and heard from the great man's lips some details of his Waterloo campaign.

The Duke told us that he had no doubt that the 9th volume of Bonaparte's memoirs, which has just appeared, was not written from his dictation, and that most of the

¹ This was the famous group which caused a short-sighted old lady to remark: 'And which is her present Grace?'

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facts were false, particularly as to the number of troops under his command ; that his finest strategic operation was the passage of the Sambre on the 15th of June. After Bonaparte's first abdication, in 1814, he (the Duke) had had much difficulty in persuading Soult to accept a Commission from the King of France (Louis XVIII.), while Suchet, who was further off and whom he could not reach till he had beaten Soult, agreed at once. The Duke, who had already gained the Battle of Toulouse, was obliged to inform Soult that he would attack him the following day if he did not accept the King's commission. This argument, in light of the Duke's earlier successes, decided Soult at once.

Four events occupy Neumann's diary during the next few days . the health of the new king, the burial of his predecessor and that of the Duke of Kent who had died on January 23rd, and the news of the assassination of the Duc de Berry.

Feb. 10th. The health of the king has improved. When they bled him at the moment when the inflammation was most acute, the surgeon, although he used the lancet several times, was unable to draw blood. Dr. Tierney, putting his thumb on the vein, then tried, but at first with no effect.

Feb. 17th. The assassination of the Duc de Berry was confirmed by the arrival of despatches from France. A man named Louvel, a saddler's apprentice who had served under Bonaparte and had accompanied him to Elbe, committed this horrible crime just as the Duke had left the Opera House and was getting into his carriage, on Sunday the 13th. The Duchess was spattered with her husband's blood. He expired six hours later in a little room adjoining the box where he had been sitting all the evening. The assassin declares that he had been premeditating the deed for four years.¹

Feb. 18th. Prince Esterhazy arrived. He confirmed all the details concerning the murder of the Duc de Berry. The poor Duchess must have shown extraordinary courage. She threw herself at the King's feet, imploring him to let

¹ There is an interesting account of this incident in *Nouvelles Promenades dans Paris* by Georges Cain.

her return to Naples,¹ seeing nothing but daggers in a France stained with so many crimes and so much blood. She cut off her golden hair which her husband had so admired, and placed it in his coffin.

The following entry is the first of many dealing with the long and intricate question of George IV.'s relations with his Queen

Feb. 19th. During the week there have been lively altercations between the King and his Ministers with regard to the Princess of Wales (the actual Queen), whom His Majesty wishes to divorce. The King even threatened to dismiss his Ministers and send for 'his old friends,' the members of the Opposition. Thereupon the whole of the Ministers, on the 15th, sent in their resignations, which the King would not accept because of the impossibility of forming another administration.

But an even more startling event had to be chronicled on the 24th—the famous Cato Street Conspiracy.

Feb. 24th. The paper gives an account of a horrible event which was to have taken place last evening—nothing less than the assassination of all the Ministers as they sat at dinner. The conspirators, to the number of 25, of whom a man named Thistlewood was the chief, had collected in a hay-loft in Cato Street,² Edgware Road, where they were discovered and seized by the police reinforced by a detachment of the Guards commanded by Capt. FitzClarence. The difficulty of making an entrance enabled 15 of the conspirators to escape, the rest brought to bay defended themselves vigorously. Thistlewood killed a police-officer named Smyther, and Captain FitzClarence only escaped by the readiness of the sergeant of his troop who turned the pistol from him. The scheme of the ruffians was to go to Lord Harrowby's³ during dinner; to get by some means or other into the house; to throw hand grenades about, and in the confusion to kill the Ministers. The Government had had information as to this for some

¹ She had been Princess Caroline Ferdinand of Naples, and became the wife of the Duc de Berry, son of Charles X., and mother of the Comte de Chambord (1798-1870)

² It is now known as Horace Street.

C.P.N. I.

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³ No 44 Grosvenor Square.

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time. The Cabinet Ministers dining together every Wednesday at one or another's house, offered an excellent opportunity for a holocaust. London at this hour being quiet and the quarter of the town (Grosvenor Square) more or less secluded, it was thought that it would be easy to escape after the deed had been done. Lord Westmorland also lived in Grosvenor Square, and it was the conspirators' original intention to carry out this plan at his house, but the Cabinet dinner there being countermanded they determined to do it at Lord Harrowby's. The police officers who arrested the villains showed the greatest courage, attacking a number double that of their own, knowing that they were armed to the teeth and prepared for the most strenuous resistance. Thistlewood, who at first escaped, was discovered this morning in a little house in Moorfields. A reward of £1,000 had been offered for his apprehension.

Feb. 25th. Went to Cato Street to see the spot where the conspirators were discovered. It is a stable over which is a hay-loft only accessible by a ladder, and shows the pluck of those who were daring enough to enter this danger spot. Had the military arrived earlier and taken better measures to stop the outlets from the street, none of the ruffians could have escaped.

Feb. 27th. The Duke told us that the conspirators whom they had just arrested wished to bring off their *coup* at a dinner at Lord Westmorland's two months ago, but Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning and Mr. Vansittart being detained in the House, they put it off. They went, however, to the door of the Duc de San Carlos's, where a ball was in progress. They were on the point of entering the house, and the horse-guards had to be sent for to hold back the crowd. A police officer named Lavender seized a halter which was destined to hang Lord Castlereagh to the nearest lamp-post.

Feb. 28th. Dined at Lord Castlereagh's with Prince Esterhazy. The Lievens, the Duke of Wellington and Lord and Lady Hertford were there. Speaking of the conspiracy, Countess Lieven asked Castlereagh if it was true that he always went about armed, whereupon he pro-

duced two small pistols which he carries everywhere, even at his own dinner table.

Referring to the 9th volume of Bonaparte's memoirs, the Duke of Wellington told us that he had been reproached for fighting at Waterloo with a defile behind him, but that it was a fact that Bonaparte had two in *his* rear, which resulted in the entire destruction of his army.¹ Besides, he added, I had sent to Blücher on the evening of the 17th to say that if he could spare me a regiment (*corps*) I would await the French attack, but if not I would retreat; but that if he sent me a *corps d'armée* I would attack Bonaparte on the 19th if he did not take the offensive on the 18th.

The best part of March was occupied by Neumann (so far as his records go) in dining out, the Lievens, Lady Acton, Lady Macfarlane, Lady Jersey and Lady Charles Greville being among his hostesses. On the 11th at the Austrian Embassy he met the Persian Ambassador and James Morier, who had travelled much in that country and is remembered by his romance *Hajji Baba*; and Sir Gore Ouseley, the father of the better-known musician of that name. At the Lievens' he encountered Prince Philip of Hesse, then on a visit to this country, with whom he went a few days later to see the Tower of London, some of the sights of which he describes; among other things he says that there was an arsenal there of no fewer than 300,000 muskets. On returning he saw the new Southwark Bridge (it was opened the following day, March 24th), which he considered more extraordinary than Waterloo Bridge! On the 27th he again accompanied the Prince on a sight-seeing expedition, this time to the Admiralty, where Lord Melville showed them the archives and the map and telegraph departments, and astonished them by the method employed in the former and by the few civil servants (only four for this department!) found necessary. Dining at Lord Bathurst's to meet Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, and the Lievens, the Diarist hears that Hunt, the demagogue, and his associates had been found guilty by the jury at York. On April 1st he goes to stay with Wellington.

April 1st. Went to Strathfieldsaye accompanied by the Lievens and Count Palmella. We found there the Dutch Ambassador, the Prince of Hesse-Homburg and the Prince and Princess Esterhazy. Rode out with the Duke, the weather being as warm as June. We got him to talk about

¹ Haydon heard the same from Lord Burghersh, who repeated to him what the Duke had said. See Haydon's *Diary* for June 15th, 1840.

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his campaign, and he spoke of Toulouse and Waterloo, evidently regarding the former as his most famous exploit. He mentioned the recent troubles in Spain (the Revolution of 1820) and regards them as likely to be as dangerous in their consequences as the French Revolution.

April 3rd. Returned to Town with my fellow-guests. We passed Oatlands where Madame Lieven paid a visit to the Duchess of York, whom she found so weak as apparently not likely to survive long. Prince Esterhazy and the Prince of Hesse-Homburg went direct to Brighton from Strathfieldsaye.

On April 5th he paid a visit to the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick House, 'a villa built in the style of Palladio, and containing some magnificent pictures,' and on the following day he saw from Mr. Burrell's mansion in Whitehall (Gwydyr House) the 'chairing' of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse, just elected Members for Westminster, 'who,' he writes, 'favourites of the people, could not boast of a very distinguished crowd around their carriage.' 'It is an open question,' he adds, 'if popularity bought at this price is an honour or not.'

In his diplomatic position Neumann was, of course, much in the society of ambassadors, ordinary and extraordinary, and just then many of the latter were in this country to congratulate the King on his accession, among them M. de Lavashoff from Russia, Count Tenenxien from Denmark, and Baron Moltke from Prussia, all of whom he helped to entertain. Other social events during this month included a ball at Chiswick House where Miss Howard,¹ daughter of Lady Morpeth, made her *début*, and Lady Mary Stanley, the very pretty daughter of Lord Derby, whose mother had been Miss Farren the actress, married to the 12th Earl in 1795, and who herself was married in 1821 to the 2nd Earl of Wilton, was present. On the following day the Diarist dined with Lord Anglesey, meeting there Prince Leopold (widower of Princess Charlotte and afterwards King of the Belgians), but in spite of the five charming daughters of his host, 'ennui,' he moans, 'dominates the house.'

At another dinner, on the 16th, at the Countess St. Antonio's, he had as fellow-guests Mrs. Fitzherbert and Miss Seymour,² with some excellent music to follow. Neumann had a sharp eye for beauty, and he follows an entry recording the opening of the trial of Thistlewood and his associates on the 20th by remarking the personal

¹ Her father, Lord Morpeth, became 6th Earl of Carlisle in 1825.

² See *Mrs. Fitzherbert and George IV.* by Wilkins, for an account of Miss Seymour.

attractions of Lady Georgiana Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield's sister, who married Frederick West within the year, and Miss Johnstone, a niece of the Countess St Antonio, while having been to the Old Bailey to see Brunt (one of Thistlewood's men) tried, he finishes the day at a dinner at Count Palmella's, with a reception and music to follow. There are, too, about this time frequent entries of visits to Almack's, where, as we know from Gronow,¹ he was a marked and distinguished figure.

April 28th. Sentence of death has been pronounced against Thistlewood, Jugs, Brunt, Davidson and Tidd, the five chief conspirators. The other six pleaded guilty, which did not save them the death sentence, but caused a recommendation to mercy.

• *May 1st.* The five conspirators named above were hanged and afterwards decapitated, a punishment reserved for those guilty of high treason. They exhibited to the end an audacity of bearing which shows what was to be feared had they succeeded in their designs. Brunt, just before dying, cried 'Long live Liberty!' They all refused the consolations of religion except Davidson, a coloured man, who appeared very contrite.

After a visit to Prince Leopold at Claremont, Neumann returned to London on May 4th, on the evening of which day he was present at Madame Bellocchi's benefit when Rossini's *Tancred* was performed. On the evening of the 7th he dines at the Embassy, and we get a glimpse on this occasion of the political situation so far as Spain was concerned.

May 7th. Prince Paul (Esterhazy) repeated to me a conversation he had had with Lord Castlereagh concerning Spanish affairs, about which England counts on remaining entirely neutral except in the case of two eventualities, (1) the person of the King being in danger from the revolution, in which event England considers that it should represent to the dominant party in Spain that the whole of Europe could not remain indifferent to such a contingency; and (2) that Portugal should undertake that its Government would not act in such a way as to provoke complications at variance with the spirit of the guarantee promised by England. The existing treaties, according to

¹ See his *Reminiscences*.

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Lord Castlereagh, should not give facilities for the contracting parties to mix themselves up in affairs which do not form the essence of the agreement.

On May the 9th the Duc de San Carlos gave a dinner to a portion of the *corps diplomatique*, it being the eve of his presenting his letter of recall. Neumann was among those present, and later went on to a reception at Mr. (Thomas) Hope's, whose house—not the one in Piccadilly, now the *Junior Athenaeum*, but an earlier residence in Berkeley Square—was, according to the *Diarist*, ‘very fine but too crowded with ornaments.’ ‘He possesses some splendid Etruscan vases,’ adds the *Diarist*, ‘and the gallery of pictures once belonging to his brother (Henry).’ At the levée on the 10th, the first of the new reign, Neumann remarks how well the King looked after his serious illness.

The Lady Jersey with whom the *Diarist* spent the evening of the 15th was not Frances, Countess of Jersey, wife of the 4th Earl and the one-time mistress of the King, but Sarah, wife of the 5th Earl and one of the redoubtable patronesses of Almack’s. That evening Neumann hears that ‘the famous Hunt, who for the last four years has been exciting the people by his inflammatory speeches, has been condemned to two and a half years’ imprisonment, to pay a fine of £1,000, and to keep the peace for five years, all those implicated in his doings at Manchester last year having been similarly punished.’

May 18th. I ought to have been at the Derby, but the weather was so bad I did not go. The favourite, Pindaric, was beaten by Sailor. I dined with the Parrys, and on returning found letters from Vienna announcing the death of Clementine Metternich. This news astonished as much as it pained me. I had known her since she was two years old, the most beautiful child possible. She kept her beauty as she grew up and was always remarked even among other lovely girls. She was not quite 16 at the time of her death.

Neumann had not much time in which to indulge his grief, for on the following evening we find him singing with the Miss Johnstones and being astonished at his daring to do so without knowing a note of music, ‘which proves,’ as he remarks, ‘that boldness comes to one’s help when talent is absent.’ These young ladies were the nieces of the Countess St. Antonio, and one of them, Emily,¹ we hear ‘is a finished beauty and gives one an idea of Rebecca in Scott’s novel.’

¹ Neumann subsequently became engaged to her, but she died before their marriage. See also page 29.

There followed what Neumann calls a *grande chasse de soirées*. On one evening it is at Lady Sandwich's, where he 'passed a deadly time'; another at Mrs. Burrell's; again that noted entertainer Lady Charleville requires his presence; or it is the Duke of Devonshire 'whose home, newly decorated, is superb—one of the finest in London, as it would be anywhere'; or again (on May 26th) he dines with Lady Hertford to meet the Duke of Clarence and Prince Leopold. 'Since she has been out of favour with the King,' remarks Neumann, 'she has become more polite, as if it had been something to be proud of to be the mistress of someone whose equality and reciprocity of sentiment did not form the foundation of the *liaison*, and whose self-love overcame actual love.'

Three days later, going to a ball at Lady George Seymour's with Princess Esterhazy, he was held up for an hour in Piccadilly in consequence of the crowd of carriages taking people to a reception at Lady Charleville's in Cavendish Square, many of whose guests, by the way, never reached her house at all.

On the 31st he went to Windsor with the Prince and Princess Esterhazy and Prince Louis of Liechtenstein, and on the following day visited the Castle:

June 1st. Windsor is, of its kind, the finest residence existing. The apartments are very beautiful. Here is the room in which Queen Anne was having breakfast when she received the news of the victory of Blenheim. It is there that is kept the flag which the Duke of Marlborough has to present every year on August 2nd before twelve o'clock, by which tenure he holds Blenheim Palace, which, were this not done, would be forfeited. The Duke of Wellington has to do the same in commemoration of the battle of Waterloo—a charming custom which transmits to posterity the names of two heroes whose memory is thus daily recalled to the minds of those visiting the castle. Windsor contains a number of curiosities beyond its antiquity. It was founded by William the Conqueror and was greatly added to in the fourteenth century by Edward III. There are some fine pictures, particularly an Andromeda and a Toilet of Venus, by Guido Reni. There is also a charming portrait of Mary Stuart painted shortly before her death. St. George's Chapel is superb. There are hanging in it the banners of all the Knights of the Garter, among others those of the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the Kings of France and Prussia. In it the remains of the Kings of

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England are buried. On the right of the castle as one enters is the great Round Tower from which twelve counties can be seen. They say that King John of France and King David of Scotland were imprisoned here, and the chambers they occupied are pointed out.

After having been to Ascot Races, Neumann returned to Town and his usual round of dinners and receptions. One day he is entertained by Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards 3rd Earl of Liverpool) and the same evening goes to a *soirée* at Lady George Cavendish's, where, he remarks, 'there was such a crowd of old women I thought I was in the family vault.' On another evening he dines with Sir George Murray to meet the Duke of Sussex, 'who in spite of his reconciliation with the King uses the extreme language affected by the Opposition.' But a more exciting incident happened at this moment—the unexpected arrival of Queen Caroline in England.

June 6th. The Queen arrived in London at 7 o'clock this evening, to everyone's astonishment and against the advice of Mr. Brougham, her adviser, and Lord Hutchinson; having been advised to take this step at the instigation of Alderman Wood. Her coming has set all the town talking. It has resulted in a message from the King to Parliament to proscribe her and to take away her privileges as Queen. The affair has created a great sensation and nobody knows what the consequences will be.

June 7th. Went to the House to hear the debate on the King's message. Lord Castlereagh proposed a secret committee in order to examine the matter, which Mr. Brougham opposed. He made on this occasion one of the best speeches I have heard for a long time. Mr. Canning followed, but the Ministers, speaking against their convictions, were less successful than Mr. Brougham.

June 12th. The Queen's affair continues to occupy everyone's attention. The Ministers agree that they have never had a matter before them of such difficulty. In the hope of some arrangement Parliament has put off the examination of the matter till Saturday. The Queen's adviser, Mr. Brougham, appears desirous of coming to an understanding instead of carrying matters to extremes. All eyes are on him.



QUEEN CAROLINE

From a drawing by Wageman. Engraving dated 28th June, 1820

On the 15th Neumann attended a Drawing Room where 'the ladies appeared for the first time *sans paniers*, and as they all had new dresses the effect was magnificent.' Later he went to a ball at the Duke of Devonshire's, 'the finest given this year, most of the ladies being in their Court dresses.' A more serious note is struck by the next entry, which tells us that 'during the day the first battalion of the 3rd Regiment of the Guards mutinied, demanding higher pay for special services than had been given them.' 'Happily,' adds the Diarist, 'no political motive was present.' The mutinous regiment was sent away early the next morning to Plymouth, but in consequence of their good behaviour on the march the destination was changed to Portsmouth.¹ On the 16th the funeral of Grattan took place :

This morning Mr. Grattan was buried in Westminster Abbey. Parliament has lost in him one of its most distinguished members : a zealous advocate on behalf of the Roman Catholics, he was accustomed every year to introduce the subject of their emancipation. He represented Dublin. His life being entirely devoted to his native country, he was presented by that nation with £50,000, the only fortune he possessed. One cannot but admire a people which thus recompense merit. Mr. Grattan was a contemporary of Sheridan, Fox, Pitt, Windham, and Burke, and even among such men occupied a distinguished place as an orator.

For some time the 'affair of the Queen' which, as Greville remarks, 'became an intolerable nuisance,' kept cropping up almost daily, and it is suggestive that on the evening of the day on which the City presented her with an address of welcome there should have been a serious riot in London, ostensibly because it was thought that the regiment which mutinied had been confined to barracks. Neumann recording the two events adds that the tumult at Charing Cross was such that the Riot Act had to be read and the military called out to disperse the people ; and he thus sums up the doings of the two days :

A stranger who did not know London might have been surprised to see in the space of thirty-six hours—a Drawing Room ; the ball at the Duke of Devonshire's ; the departure of the rebellious Guards ; the burial of Mr. Grattan ; the City's address to the Queen delivered with great pomp ; and the tumult at Charing Cross.

¹ See Greville's *Diary*, June 16th.

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It is well known that after the days of Charles II. Hyde Park had been neglected as a fashionable promenade till those of George IV., St. James's Park having taken its place during the interval; and this recrudescence in public favour is indicated by the following entry in the diary :

June 18th. Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens were more crowded than I have seen them for a long time. It is inconceivable that no King of England since —¹ should have thought of living in this beautiful spot. The gardens, with a little care and some improvements, would be more beautiful than those of the Tuilleries, possessing as they do much finer trees, and grass such as cannot be found elsewhere.

June 19th. Was at the House, when Lord Castlereagh announced the failure of negotiations with the Queen, and placed papers concerning the affair on the table, proposing to examine them on Wednesday, the debate which was expected being therefore postponed.

A few days earlier Neumann had been at a dinner party where this matter, as usual, was being discussed, when Lord George Seymour quoted a maxim of Fox's to the effect that Ministers should never propose a measure which had for its result either *profitable wrongs* or *unprofitable rights*.

The debate in the House proving abortive, the Diarist, not knowing what to do during the afternoon, paid a visit with Prince Louis Liechtenstein to Westminster Abbey, of some of the beauties of which he gives a description. These are known to most people and need not be recapitulated; but it is interesting to find him remarking as so many remark to-day that 'the interior is spoilt by the bad arrangement and bad taste of the monuments erected to the memory of the great men buried there.' In the evening he dined with Count Palmella to meet both the retiring and the new Spanish ambassadors, the Dukes of San Carlos and de Frias.

June 20th. Went to visit Lord Grosvenor after dinner. He is one of the richest noblemen in England, possessing a fine picture gallery including among other works six canvases by Claude Lorraine and four vast pictures by Rubens purchased from Mr. de Bourke, the Danish minister, who had acquired them in Spain where they had been

¹ Blank in Diary. Perhaps Neumann means William III., who first made Nottingham House into Kensington Palace; although George II. and Queen Caroline occupied the place.

painted for the Duc d'Olivares without the assistance of his pupils or anyone else. They are thought highly of and are regarded as masterpieces.¹

Among other entries for the rest of the month are several which, as will be seen, possess special interest but are of a varied character. Neumann's references to 'the Queen affair' can be profitably compared with Greville's fuller details.

June 22nd. Mr. Wilberforce presented a motion in the House proposing that an address should be laid before the Queen urging her to desist from requiring her name to be inserted in the Prayer Book, with the proviso that her reputation would not thereby be affected. Mr. Brougham and Denman, the Queen's counsel, opposed the motion. Lord Castlereagh supported it, and Ministers obtained a large majority. The debate lasted till 5 o'clock in the morning. No one remembered to have seen the House so full ; 516 members voted.

June 24th. Dined with Count Lieven and met Mr. Balmain just returned from St. Helena with his wife. He told us that Bonaparte was in love. Thence I went to the Opera with Princess Esterhazy, and afterwards to Lady Grantham's and Lady Castlereagh's. A deputation of the House of Commons went to present the address to the Queen. She received it, they say, with disdain and made her reply through Mr. Brougham. This reply is such an unequivocal refusal that no one knows what will be the upshot of the affair.

June 26th. To a ball at Mrs. Fitzherbert's² where it was so hot that I never remember to have felt it so much. The thermometer during the day registered 24° Réaumur.

June 27th. Went to Richmond³ with the Prince and Princess (Esterhazy) and Louis Liechtenstein. It was

¹ They were purchased by Mr. Bourke, English Minister at Copenhagen, who brought them to England in 1816, and sold them to Lord Grosvenor for £10,000. Rubens painted them in 1629 (they formed part of a set of nine) for Philip IV., who gave them to Olivares for the Carmelite monastery of Loeches, which the latter had founded. In 1808 the French carried off seven of them, three of which were secured by Mr. Bourke on the Continent

² In 'the Bow-window house' in Tilney Street.

³ The Metternichs afterwards rented the Old Palace here, and Mr. Disraeli, writing on May 2nd, 1849, speaks of visiting them 'in the most charming house in the world.'

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as hot as yesterday, but the evening was delicious. We returned by water as far as Putney. Although so late I went on to a ball given by Mrs. Baring, but the heat soon drove me away.

June 28th. To the Marquis of Lansdowne's where they have opened for the first time a gallery which was formerly the library. It contains some beautiful statuary. Thence I went to a fancy-dress ball at Almack's.

June 29th. Yesterday the 'Green Bag' (it contained the documents relating to the Queen) was opened in the House of Lords, and everyone is anxiously awaiting the report of the secret committee appointed to examine the matter.

July 3rd. Dined with Count Palmella for the last time as to-morrow he leaves for Portsmouth, where he embarks for Lisbon *en route* for Rio Janeiro with his family. I am profoundly sorry that they are going. The constant marks of friendship I have received from them will for ever remain in my memory. The Countess resumes in herself all the virtues one hopes for in a wife and a mother. If she is not as brilliant a conversationalist as some, she makes up for it by her kindness, her amiability, and the goodness of her heart. Donna Catherina, the Count's sister, also possesses these qualities, and the Count himself is as charming in society as he is distinguished as a statesman.

July 4th. The report of the secret committee of the House of Lords on the examination of the green bag has been made, and states positively that the Queen has committed adultery with a stranger (Bergami) who was originally in her service in a subordinate position, and that her conduct has besides been most reprehensible and requires the fullest enquiry.

July 5th. Dined at home and then went to Almack's. Lord Liverpool proposes, on the report of the committee, a Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen, in order to deprive her of her privileges as consort, and to obtain a divorce.

July 6th. Went to the House of Lords to hear the Counsel for the Queen, who through Lord Dacre had sent a petition protesting against the action of the Peers in

regard to her. The petition was rejected and Lord Liverpool brought forward a motion with a view to limiting the points on which the Queen's counsel should be heard. It was carried. The proposal for a day to consider yesterday's bill was postponed till Monday.

July 9th. Went with Caraman¹ in the afternoon to see Count St. Antonio at Wimbledon. Mrs. Johnstone and her two daughters were there. The younger, aged 17, has long attracted me and makes me think of a thing I have not done before, marriage. She is an amiable, charming creature, and appears to possess all that is necessary for domestic happiness.

As will be seen later, this marriage never took place; but how much the young lady was in Neumann's mind at this time is indicated by a passage in the next entry.

July 13th. Reception at the Duke of Devonshire's where I was bored because I was unable to get near her on whom my thoughts are just now centred. Dined with Langsdorff. The Prince of Sweden, Prince Esterhazy and Count Lieven were there. The last remarked that the three leading men in the State, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Privy Seal, had all run away with their wives.

Following a list of social engagements, receptions at the Duke of Bedford's, the Duke of Wellington's, and a dinner with the Duke of York followed by a child's party at the Duchess of Bedford's, which later developed into a ball for grown-ups, we have a more serious entry in the diary.

July 19th. Attended the King's levée, where I learnt the news of the military revolution which had broken out in Naples. This event has produced great consternation in the English Ministry. Clearly if the power which should guarantee the safety of a Government and the State from internal and external danger provokes such things, there is no longer any public safety. The example of such rebellions is frightful; the word 'Constitution' has become like everything else, a mere misnomer. They adopt such and

¹ The Marquis de Caraman. He commanded the French artillery at the taking of Constantine in 1837, and died of cholera there in that year.

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such a new one as before they adopted such and such a suit of clothes, so long as it is in the fashion. They don't seem to consider whether or not they are protected against the injury of man or time.

Dined with Count Lieven, meeting Lord Castlereagh, Lords Melville, Bathurst, and the Duke of Wellington, with whom I went on to Almack's.¹ He told me that he is beginning to think that the restored kings will not continue in power for very long. Madame de Lieven observed that it was a *réchauffé*! Lieven said that they had blamed the Emperor Alexander for having expressed himself too strongly over the Spanish revolution, and that they now saw the consequences of the silence of the other Powers concerning revolutionary methods.

July 23rd. The Duke of Wellington gave me some information about the events in Naples on the 10th, the abdication of the King in favour of his son not being accepted by the insurgents, and the adoption of the Constitution of the Cortes of 1819.

July 25th. Dined at the Planta's with Lord Strangford, Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, Mr. Rush² and Mr. Canning. I went for a few minutes to the Opera and then to a ball at Lady Bethel Codrington's, where I saw the Duke of Wellington who told me that in his opinion there was not a moment to lose in suppressing the Neapolitan Revolution, and that we could now do with 80,000 men what we could not effect later with 200,000.

On July 28th we find Neumann dining for the last time with the de Lihns, who were on the eve of leaving England, and later accompanying the Misses Johnstone to Vauxhall, where he may have seen Jos. Sedley and Emmy and Rebecca, who paid the place a visit on a notable occasion about this time. A few days later he saw *The Beggar's Opera* again, on this occasion with Prince Liechtenstein, with whom, on the 4th of August, he attended a review at Hounslow. 'The King and the Dukes of York and Cambridge were present,' he writes; 'and there were the 12th and 19th Lancers and the 10th Hussars, but hardly more than 1000 men in all. They

¹ See the Editor's *History of St. James's Street and Annals of Almack's* for an account of this fashionable rendezvous, also Gronow's *Reminiscences* for reference to Neumann's exploits as a dancer there.

² ? Richard Rush, author of *A Residence at the Court of London*.

went through the various manœuvres, under the command of Lord Edward Somerset, in a most efficient way.'

Aug. 5th. Returned from another review of three regiments of the Guards and the 12th Lancers, commanded by Lord Cathcart. The King was there as at yesterday's review and arrived on both days at the arranged hour, 9 o'clock. From there I went to Kew Gardens, famous for its rare plants, and then to lunch with Lady Bessborough at Roehampton.

The Duchess of York, whose death is recorded in the following entry, was the Princess Royal of Prussia, and had been married to the Duke of York in 1791. Greville says. 'Probably no person in such a position was ever more really liked. She has left £12,000 to her servants and some children whom she had caused to be educated. She had arranged all her affairs with the greatest exactitude, and left nothing undone.' Her passion for dogs, of which she had a vast number, is well known.'

Aug. 6th. The Duchess of York, who had been ill for several months with dropsy, died to-day at 9 o'clock at Oatlands. She will be much regretted, for her qualities of head and heart made her remarkable. She was always very kind to me. The King having resolved to prolong his stay at the Cottage at Windsor in consequence of this event, has asked the Esterhazys to stay on too.

Aug. 7th. Went with Prince Louis of Liechtenstein to Camden Place, to stay with the Lievens. The Castle-reaghs, Munster, Planta, and Lord Gower were there. Received the sad news of the death of Countess Marie Esterhazy, eldest daughter of Prince Metternich.

Aug. 8th. Remained at Camden Place¹ and there heard the news of the determination of my country (Austria) to act vigorously against Naples, of the massacre which has occurred in Sweden as a result of the struggle for a new constitution; and of the counter-revolution in Spain.

After a few entries concerning social events Neumann was at the Haymarket on the 10th to see a play called *Pigeons and Crows*, in which Liston, 'the best comic actor of Covent Garden,' had a capital part, and on the 11th at Vauxhall, where although it was a

¹ Later the residence of Napoleon III. when in exile after 1870.

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lovely evening, he found it rather a sad affair : ' all public assemblies here lack spontaneous gaiety,' he says. We then come to the following more important entry :

Aug. 17th. Went at 8.30 to the House of Lords to hear the Queen's trial. She was present and sat within the bar near her counsel. The sitting was less interesting than one anticipated. The Duke of Leinster brought forward a motion for the withdrawal of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and Lord Grey one to substitute the accusation of high treason for that of adultery, the act having been committed abroad and not being subject to the law of this country. Both lost their motions. The Queen's counsel was heard ; he questioned the legality of the procedure laid down by the Chamber. He was very violent in his speech and attacked the King on his own conduct. The House adjourned at 4 o'clock. Perfect order was maintained, and in spite of the large crowds outside no accident happened. The Queen was accompanied both coming and going by an immense concourse. She drove in a splendid carriage drawn by six horses. Lady Anne Hamilton¹ was with her. Everywhere the sentries presented arms.

Aug. 18th. The Queen's Counsel and those of the Crown were to-day engaged in testing the clauses of the Bill. Mr. Denman, the Queen's Solicitor-General, made, they say, a remarkable speech.

Aug. 21st. Went to the House of Lords to hear the continuation of the Solicitor-General's indictment of the Queen, which contained the most scandalous details. When he had finished he proceeded to call witnesses. The first was Theodore Majocchi. The Queen then arrived, but hardly had she taken her seat than she turned to the witness and cried ' Theodore ! ' with an intonation that might have indicated terror or horror or indignation ; and she then left the Chamber hurriedly. It was a gesture which struck everyone, although no one knew exactly what was meant by it. She remained in a separate apartment till 4 o'clock. The examination of the first witness occupied three hours. This man, having been in the Queen's service for three

¹ She was the authoress of a rather scandalous history of the Court of England under the Georges.

years, knew everything that happened in the various places in which she travelled. Among other things, when coming back from Syria she embarked on a polacre¹ on which she had a large tent erected where she slept every night, Bergami being also there. The witness said that as he occupied a cabin below he could hear every sound. He was asked what noise he heard and he imitated it by a cry. On this same vessel the Queen used to take her bath, and Bergami was accustomed to remain shut up with her in the bath-room. After four hours the sitting closed, although the witness had not ended his depositions.

Aug. 22nd. The examination of Majocchi ended and Brougham cross-examined him. He was not so fluent under Brougham's questions and repeatedly replied 'non mi ricordo' about matters which he had before remembered perfectly. The Queen sat listening to this examination for some time.

Aug. 23rd. The cross-examination of Majocchi was completed. He replied better than he had done yesterday, in fact he did not contradict himself once. They produced another important witness named Gaetano Paturzo, chief mate of the vessel. This man only arrived yesterday and greatly annoyed the Queen's counsel by the frankness of his evidence. He confirmed the fact that Bergami slept under the same tent as the Queen.

About this time Neumann, having been listening to one drama during the day, went a good deal to its more legitimate form at various theatres. Thus on the 19th he saw Edmund Kean as Othello, who played the part, he says, 'with more rage than passion'; and on the 22nd he was at Drury Lane to witness the same great actor in *Richard III.*, which the Diarist calls one of Shakespeare's greatest plays and Kean's greatest part; while on the 26th he witnessed *Hamlet* from the Johnstones' box, of which he writes: 'this piece is too well known to need comment, but one cannot understand why, having omitted certain things supposed not to be in good taste, they have left in the grave-digger's scene in which the public is amused by such disgusting objects as the bones which they throw up out of the grave.'

From the interminable subject of the Queen's trial, with the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, and an entry for

¹ A three-masted vessel used in the Mediterranean.

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August 28th to the effect that the Duke of Wellington leaving the House of Lords had been insulted and nearly maltreated by the crowd—on which Neumann remarks that in 1814 he was applauded in Paris by the French he had beaten but was now hissed and hooted by his own countrymen—we come to an amusing incident thus recorded in the diary :

Sept. 1st. The Princess Lieven successfully mystified the guests at Camden Place by dressing up her son Paul as a girl. The next day Clanwilliam, not having been present yesterday, was taken in by the following hoax. I told him that a charming young lady whom I had met on the Common had given me an assignation outside the park. I induced him to come too, and then when we had all three met we were surprised by the rest of the guests. Clanwilliam fled, and was not undeceived until ‘the young lady’ met him in the house and addressed him in a very masculine voice. The joke was accompanied by a variety of little incidents, one more amusing than the other. Among them Clanwilliam confessed to me that he had betrayed our meeting to the house party, supposing that the Lievens would be annoyed at my conduct. Then when I had been discovered by them outside their garden but on their property, he confessed his trick and asked my pardon with so contrite an air that I was ashamed at having duped him myself.

Sept. 3rd. Prince Esterhazy took umbrage at someone flirting with his wife. The next day the Princess told me that she had had a long talk with her husband and had been able to appease him ; but added that it is sad, when forced to live together, when one is convinced that mutual esteem can have no part in one’s existence and will never enter into reciprocal relations.

Sept. 4th. Went to Greenwich with the Princess, Prince Liechtenstein and Caraman. There we found the St. Antonios and Lord F. Conyngham. On returning we went to see the animals fed at Exeter Exchange.¹

Sept. 7th. The Duke of Wellington dined at the Em-

¹ Cross's Menagerie then occupied Exeter Change in the Strand, which stood where Burleigh Street is now, and people used to go and see the animals fed there. Byron and Hood both refer to this.



MARIA THERESA OF THURN AND TAXIS
WIFE OF PAUL ANTON, PRINCE ESTERHAZY
b 1794

bassy. He was very preoccupied. The Queen's trial worries the Ministers intensely. The bishops have refused to vote for a divorce. They say that the act of adultery not being sufficiently proved, the law for establishing a divorce cannot be applied unless, as in ordinary cases of this nature, the conduct of the husband is also investigated. The Ministers told this to the King, who received them very coldly and replied : ' Gentlemen, I am in your hands, do what you can.' Many people think that the Ministry will be the victim of this affair in one way or the other when it should have been the hero. If they refuse to bring the matter before Parliament, the King will want to dismiss them, and public opinion will be against that. In politics, as in ordinary life, there is but one line to take, and that is the straight one.

The Attorney-General to-day closed his case for the Crown, and the resumption of the witnesses' examination was continued by the Solicitor-General. This seemed to me very feeble. Several of the witnesses who might have given evidence have not arrived, fearing they might be exposed to insults at Dover as the others were. The remand asked for by the Attorney-General to enable him to produce these witnesses has been refused as being contrary to legal custom.

On September 10th Neumann, while dining at Kenwood with Lord Mansfield, heard some news which for a moment must have put the Queen's trial out of his thoughts.

Sept. 10th. The Duc Décazes¹ told me of a military revolution which had broken out on August 24th at Oporto² with the object of obtaining from the Cortes a constitution under the reigning Braganza dynasty. This is not to be wondered at when one considers how much this country has gone through in order to obtain its independence and the generous efforts it made for the cause in continuing the war against the French, even after having felt their power. As the price of so many sacrifices she

¹ See page 2n. He was created a duke during this year.

² The Spanish Revolution of 1820 was, as we shall see, suppressed by French aid, three years later.

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has been treated by the Cabinet of Rio de Janeiro¹ as a colony, which instead of offering her the relief she asks for and sending her a Royal Prince as she desires, has exhausted all her resources in men and money. But in spite of the reasons which might justify this result it is not less deplorable to see with what ease revolutions break out, and the horrible example they produce everywhere. If once the people's right to redress their own wrongs were recognised there would be no stability for governments, and everything would form a pretext for engendering and justifying revolutionary acts.

Sept. 12th. Have read a letter from Count Palmella to Lord Castlereagh in which he informs him of the events at Oporto, the impossibility of resistance, and the only remedy to employ in order to prevent a still greater danger, viz. the convocation at Lisbon of the three orders of the state, the clergy, the nobility and the civic representatives, in order to outline a constitution to be submitted to the King, and to prevent that constitution being a Spanish one, which would be the first step towards a reunion of Spain and Portugal. Count Palmella is about to leave for Brazil and could carry such propositions as might be made. His opinion is that the King (John VI.) should first send over the Heir Apparent in order that he should put himself at the head of the Junta, and desire it to return with him. He (Palmella) seems determined to tender his resignation if he finds that the King does not agree to measures which the force of circumstances make imperative. He fears there will be, also, a reaction in Brazil, especially as from news received from Bahia it is known that the seeds of dissension are present there.

That ambassadors can be fearful of ghosts as well as of the ways of kings we learn from the following entry :

Sept. 14th. Saw Madame de Lieven this morning. She told me that the Duc de Frias, who stayed last night with them, was frightened because they told him that the former occupant of the house had been assassinated and

¹ The Royal Family had made their headquarters here when they escaped from Portugal on its invasion by the French in 1807. King John VI. returned in 1821. (See *Diary* for July 16th of that year.)

that there was a ghost which appeared in the room he was occupying. He summoned his valet and took measures with him to fasten his door on both sides, finally making the man sleep in his room. For an ambassador of a constitutional country this proves that intelligence has not made great strides in Spain.

On the 17th Neumann went to Worthing with the Esterhazys, and on the following day rode with his host along the sands, which he found smoother than he had ever seen elsewhere, and consequently, as he remarks, excellent for bathing. There was even then evidently a theatre here, as he speaks of going to a 'spectacle' where some charming pieces were performed. On the following day they made an excursion to Arundel.

Sept. 19th. Went with the Prince and Princess to Arundel Castle, belonging to the Duke of Norfolk. It is an old gothic structure, very magnificent of its kind. There is a library in mahogany and cedar which is the finest thing in this style I have seen. The doors and several beds of the same woods are remarkable for their beauty. There is also a great hall containing painted glass windows which are, although modern, very effective. It was here, they say, that the Barons retired after Magna Charta had been signed by King John.

Sept. 21st. Left Worthing with the Prince. We rode to Horsham, 20 miles, and thence by carriage to Ewell, where he put me down. I went on from there partly in a tilbury and partly riding, by Sutton, Croydon, Beckenham and Bromley to Camden Place. It is a delightful road running along by a park, as is that from Worthing to Ewell, by Dorking and Burford Bridge, the latter a really entrancing spot. We made a very pleasant expedition there last year with the Lievens, Pahlen, Schonfeld and Prince Esterhazy, when we passed two most agreeable days. We had all sorts of adventures, including a storm during which we mistook our way, Madame de Lieven having to walk during the worst of it without her shoes and stockings which she had lost. We had a wedding, or rather honeymoon ; Mr. Peel and Lady Jane Moore¹ hav-

¹ Daughter of the Earl of Mount Cashell, married to the Rt. Hon. W. Y. Peel second son of Sir Robert Peel.

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ing arrived and hoping to enjoy a honeymoon very peacefully and coming on a noisy crowd of their acquaintances. At Camden Place I found the Décazes, who could talk of nothing but the Duc de Frias and his fear of ghosts.

The next day Neumann went to stay at Wherstead Park, Ipswich, with Lord Granville, and there spent three quiet and pleasant days among a house-party composed of Lord and Lady Bessborough, Lord and Lady Ponsonby, Lord Clare, Montague and Nugent, all, as he remarks, as witty as agreeable. Apparently he was more at home, in fact he says as much, outside the Embassy than in it, as he found Prince Paul Esterhazy rather difficult to get on with ; 'it is,' he adds significantly, 'when I am with others that I find the difference.' Five days later he returned to Town.

Sept. 27th. Came back from Ipswich by stage-coach in which I encountered a charming young person named Mary Anne Neil. She looked like the daughter of middle-class people ; her father was outside. I did not long enjoy her society alone, however ; for soon after a woman got in who was so consumptive that I thought every moment she was going to expire.

On the 28th Neumann went to Brighton and thence to Worthing to visit the Esterhazys, this time having as travelling companions Count Lieven and Lord Bathurst. On October 1st, dining with Lady Worcester who was also staying there, he heard the news of the birth of the prince, the posthumous child of the Duc de Berry, first known as the Duc de Bordeaux, who was to become Comte de Chambord after 1830, and by many regarded as Henry V. of France. The next day the Diarist returned to Town, where he dined with the Duc Décazes, who told him he had just received the order of St. Esprit from the King of France on the occasion of the above-mentioned event. Again the Queen's trial occupies much of the diary, and as that event was a national one the entries relating to it are here given in full :

Oct. 3rd. Was in the House to hear the Queen's defence. Mr. Brougham began by saying that he would not have recourse to recrimination unless it was absolutely necessary in his client's interest. He spoke well, his speech lasting four hours, the conclusion being postponed till the next day.

Oct. 4th. Mr. Brougham ended his speech for the defence in the most brilliant way.¹ He exhibited so much

¹ See Greville's *Diary* for Oct. 8th.

eloquence that even his adversaries had to acknowledge it, but he affected his audience more than he convinced them. Every day the affair takes on a worse complexion. One begins to wonder if the Bill will pass the House of Lords, and if it does there is no doubt that it will be thrown out by the Commons. From whatever point of view one looks at it one cannot imagine how Ministers are going to extricate themselves. The excitement throughout the country is such that one fears the endangering of the public peace, and if ever this country was near a revolution it is now.

Oct. 5th. Dined at the Décazes' at Harrow with Prince Esterhazy. We went armed to the teeth, as a week before several people had been attacked on the road.

Oct. 6th. The witnesses on behalf of the Queen were heard to-day. Sir W. Gell and Sir Keppel Craven have by their evidence so entirely upset that of Majocchi and M. Dumont, two of the chief witnesses for the prosecution, that the Ministers agree that it only requires another such day to force them to abandon the trial. Triumph is as much to be feared as defeat; the first would be to the advantage of the Radical party. After the country at large has shown so marked a sympathy with this princess there is not the least doubt that her condemnation would produce a revolt if not a revolution. This is the inextricable dilemma in which the country finds itself through the obstinacy of the King and the unpardonable weakness of his Ministers in giving way to it.

It is pleasant to get away from this sordid affair and to find Neumann reading and criticising Scott's latest novel.

Oct. 8th. Finished *The Abbot*¹ by Walter Scott, which, although not so strong as its predecessors, has at the same time many merits. There is here, as in most of his works, an historical interest overshadowing the love motive which is nearly always kept subsidiary. Here the plot hinges on the imprisonment of Mary Stuart in Kinross Castle, which then belonged to the Douglases, and the methods employed for her escape undertaken with a mixture of enthusiasm

¹ It had been published this year.

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and affection by George Douglas, who enables her to flee. The conclusion is weak. It often happens with Scott that he does not know what to do with his heroes who are, as it were, submerged in the great scenes which go to make up the work.

Oct. 9th. Went to the House. Dr. Holland gave evidence in the Queen's favour but said nothing really important. A certain Lieutenant Flynn of the English Navy, who commanded the polacre and from whom great things were expected on behalf of the Queen, became very confused when giving his evidence.

Oct. 11th. Lieutenant Hownam, the man who sent a challenge to Baron d'Ompteda, was examined. On being cross-examined he denied ever having said to Captain Briggs, who commanded the Leviathan, that he had begged the Princess on his knees not to allow Bergami to dine at her table. He acknowledged that he (Bergami) had slept in her tent, but that others had done so too in order to guard her during the night.

Oct. 12th. In spite of Lieutenant Hownam's evidence leaving no doubt as to the culpability of the Queen, the Opposition is determined not to vote for the Bill. It is using this affair as a lever for overturning the Ministry, thinking it a particularly favourable moment for doing so, in consequence of the force of public opinion exhibited against the Government.

Oct. 13th. The Queen's trial, which was going better for the Ministry this week, has to-day experienced an unexpected change. The witness Joseph Garolini being questioned said a man named Rastolli, employed as a courier and agent by the commission at Milan, promised to pay a bill which the Princess of Wales owed him (Garolini) if he would bear witness against her. The account amounted to 2,000 napoleons. They wanted to confront Rastolli with this witness on the point, but he had returned to Milan to find other witnesses, which caused Mr. Brougham to remark that it was impossible for him to pursue this matter further if he was prevented from confirming so important a fact as this. Thereupon excited arguments arose, and the Opposition exhibited the violence they have shown throughout the whole affair.

O C T O B E R 1 8 2 0

Having been to Camden Place, where Lord and Lady Jersey and the Duke of Wellington were among the guests, Neumann went on the following day (Oct. 15th) to Woolwich with the rest of the house-party. Lady Jersey appears to have put some restraint on herself on this occasion, for, says the *Diarist*, 'By a great effort she abstained from discussing politics the whole time she was with us, and this was a victory for the Duke of Wellington not less honourable than many others.'

Oct. 16th. Went to see Westminster Hall prepared for the Coronation dinner (if ever the Coronation takes place). This building will hold 4,000 people; the peers and great officers of state will dine there. The sight should be a magnificent one and it would be a pity if this particularly suitable place could not be used for such a purpose.

Oct. 17th. To the House of Lords where a debate took place on the propriety of enquiring into the Milan commission, it being decided to refer the matter to the judges. The House of Commons reassembled to-day, and Mr. Hume brought forward a motion to summon Sir Robert Baker the magistrate to the bar of the House, to give an account of his conduct in a very curious affair. A fortnight ago a violent libel was issued concerning the Queen's yacht. A lawyer named Pearson discovered that this libel was distributed at the direction of a Mr. Franklin and that he was acting under orders from the Government, which was said to have engineered the plot—truly Machiavellian in its ingenuity and confuted by its very improbability. Lord Castlereagh successfully replied to Hume's arguments by proving that it was far more likely that it was the work of the Radical committee and done in order to make it seem as if it was the work of the Government. Franklin escaped, and they accused Sir R. Baker of not having taken adequate steps to prevent him.

Oct. 18th. The judges and the House of Lords came to the conclusion that they could not interrupt the course of the proceedings against the Queen in order to enter into an examination of the Milan Commission, but Lord Liverpool took the opposite view, and they have proceeded to hear the witnesses. It would seem that Lord Liverpool wishes to clear himself in the public eyes from the reproach which

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has been made against the Government of being privy to the doings of the Commission which, if one can believe what is said of it, has employed illegal means in order to obtain witnesses, such as corruption and prevarication, which would of course utterly destroy the force of the accusations made against the Queen. It is also to be feared that if they stir up the doings of this Commission many people will be compromised, including Count Münster, Lord Stewart and others.

Oct. 20th. Dined out with the Duke of Wellington. The Duke of York, the Lievens and the Jerseys were among the company. As usual nothing was talked of but the Queen's affair, which has become the inexhaustible topic of every conversation. The House of Lords is occupied with the technical difficulties arising out of the trial. To-day there were two divisions: one, concerning a committee it is suggested should be formed to examine the correspondence of Mr. Powell and Colonel Brown, has been a remarkable one, Lords Liverpool, Bathurst, Harrowby and Westmorland having voted with the Opposition.

During the next few days the entries in the diary ring the changes on 'the inexhaustible subject' and the social doings of the writer. One day (Oct. 21st) he goes with Princess Esterhazy to visit Countess St. Antonio¹ at Wimbledon, being present in the evening at a performance of *Henry IV.* at Covent Garden; on the next he dines with the Décazes at Harrow. Then he has an entry recording Denman's resumption of his defence of the Queen on the 24th, when he made his famous parallel between the position of his illustrious client and Octavia, Nero's wife, a comparison, says Neumann, 'both daring and happy.' Anon he goes to the Coburg Theatre (it is now the 'Old Vic') which he finds 'a delightful house where they perform melodrama'; and on the same day (25th) records Denman's peroration with its three final words 'sin no more.'

Oct. 27th. The Advocate General replied and made an excellent speech full of forcible arguments, although less eloquent than that of his adversaries. To the general astonishment the Prince Leopold has been to visit the

¹ She was a Miss Johnstone, and became Duchess of Canizzaro on her husband's elevation to that rank and title. She was separated from him before his death in 1841. See p. 294.

Queen. This step is hardly a judicious one ; it will get him into hot water with the King, with whom his relations are already none of the best. The Prince, who is avid of popularity, is willing to sacrifice for it the conduct which he ought to follow towards the rest of the royal family.

Dined at the Embassy, and then went with the Esterhazys to see *The Antiquary* at Covent Garden, where the decorations are beautiful and where they gave another piece called *A Roland for an Oliver* taken from *A Visit to Bedlam*.¹

Oct. 28th-29th. Went to dine and sleep with the Décazes at Harrow. The Duke showed me a volume of the taxes of the various departments of France. By this, in spite of the wealth of that country, it would appear that individual fortunes are fairly small. We could not find more than thirty people possessing incomes of 200,000 francs. They are taxed at the rate of a fifth of their incomes.

Oct. 30th. Met the Duke of Wellington at the Lievens. He seemed very annoyed with Prince Leopold for having been to see the Queen. He said, besides, that apart from the mistake he had made in thus trying to attract a popularity which could not be one of sensible people, he acted out of a spirit of revenge against the Government, because after the death of the Princess Charlotte it had been unwilling to give him an English title which, on his marriage, had been offered to him and refused.

In the evening I went with Madame de Lieven and Lady Granville to Covent Garden, where a tragedy by Dr. Young, entitled *The Revenge*,² was performed. It contains some fine situations and some excellent scenes. Macready played the part of Zanga and would have been good if he had not, like all English actors, overdone it.

Nov. 1st. Went to see *Romeo and Juliet* at Drury Lane. It is one of Shakespeare's best plays. Mrs. West acted Juliet as well as anyone possibly could, with the exception of Miss O'Neill,³ who was, and will continue long to be, inimitable in this part.

¹ By Thomas Morton. Scribe also wrote a play entitled *Une visite à Bedlam*.

² It had been written in 1721.

³ An Irish actress, b. 1791, d. 1872. In 1819 she married Sir W. Becher.

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From these pleasant interludes we are brought the next day again into the atmosphere of recrimination and perjury which characterised the Queen's trial.

Nov. 2nd. The Chancellor summed up, and has disappointed everyone, including his own colleagues, by the paucity of his remarks. It was thought that he would have accentuated the weakness of the defence and the strength of the accusation, by showing the necessity for the Bill against crimes unforeseen by the existing laws. What he did say was sound, but far from exhausted a subject fraught with such importance as this one is. Lord Erskine spoke next, but being taken ill in the middle of his speech he was obliged to retire. Lord Lauderdale made a remarkable speech and filled up the gaps left by the Chancellor. The Opposition was in a state of panic and anticipated, they say, a majority of 30 for the Ministry. Lord Grey's speech was also a good one, and he, in contradistinction to Lord Lauderdale, vigorously attacked the weak points of the Opposition accusation. Lord Harewood, a particularly rich nobleman and one of the Ministerial party, voted against the Bill.

Visits to Cassiobury,¹ the seat of Lord Essex, where the library specially attracted Neumann's attention, and to Moor Park,² the seat of Mr. Williams which had once belonged to Cromwell and then to the Duke of Monmouth, and whose beautiful park and the magnificence of the house was, he thought, 'worthy of a great noble'; and a rather surprising expedition taken with the Décazes to see the store house of the East India Company, which he remarks is one of the curiosities of the country and gives a good idea of the extent of its trade, no less than £2,000,000 worth of silk alone coming from India and China during the year, bring us to the closing scenes of the Queen's trial.

Nov. 7th-8th. The House of Lords has formed a committee to discuss the various points of the Bill. They are agreed as to the preamble which concerns the disgrace of the Queen, but have put off till to-morrow the question of the divorce, about which even the Ministers themselves differ, Lords Harrowby and Melville being against it. The

¹ Near Watford, Herts.

² Near Rickmansworth, Herts.
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MISS O'NEILL
(ELIZA, LADY WRIXON-BECHER)
b 1791, *d* 1872

From an engraving after a portrait by Richard Cosway, R.A.

division in the House of Lords on the Act of Divorce resulted in a majority of 67 for it.

Nov. 10th. On the third reading of the Bill there was only a majority of nine, which caused Lord Liverpool to withdraw it as he could not go to the Commons on such a small number. The affair has had a melancholy termination which should have been foreseen by Ministers. It is not thought, however, that they will go out on this, since the Bill did actually pass and they voluntarily withdrew it.

On the following day the Diarist again went to stay with the Décazes at Harrow, where he found Lord Westmorland and his daughter, the Duke of Hamilton and Sir Humphrey Davy, 'the famous chemist.'¹ On the 13th he is back in London and sees *Twelfth Night* at Covent Garden, with which, like Mr. Pepys before him, he was disappointed, but he adds that the old English airs introduced and sung charmingly by Miss Tree compensated for the little interest there is in the play. He went to the theatre through streets illuminated in honour of the Queen's victory. A few evenings later, dining with the Lievens, he heard the Duc de Frias make the guests laugh by telling how one of his Spanish servants who was supposed to know English replied on his behalf to an invitation from Count Munster, thus: 'The Duke de Frias feels very much sorry myself by posterior engagement to be prevented to awaken the Count and Countess Munster.' Various entries of dinner engagements follow, among his hostesses being Lady Acton² and Lady Harrowby, with the latter of whom and a party he went to see *Hamlet* at Drury Lane. On the 23rd Parliament was prorogued till Jan. 23rd. At the moment the Sergeant-at-Arms entered the Chamber to summon the members to hear the King's message, Denman had risen to read a communication to the House from the Queen, which could not be therefore heard, this occasioning a good deal of disturbance and the Speaker and the Ministers being hissed. A few days later (29th) the Diarist records that the Queen went to St Paul's to give thanks for her victory. Neither the procession nor the crowd was very great. Sir R. Wilson conducted this so-called 'triumph.' On December 1st Neumann met the Elliotts, just returned from Madras 'and very changed after a six years' absence'; and on the 6th Prince Louis Liechtenstein left England 'to everyone's regret.' 'His society,' writes the Diarist, 'has been a great boon to us, his character is a charming one, full of delicacy

¹ He had this year been elected President of the Royal Society. He died eight years later, aged 51.

² Wife of Sir John Acton, to whom she was married in 1796. She died in 1873.

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and modesty and honourable feeling. He possesses a good heart and a sound and clear understanding, he is one whom Fortune has crowned with all her gifts.'

Dec. 8th. Went to Covent Garden where I joined the Lievens, Lady Harrowby and Montague. After the first piece we went on to the Olympic¹ to see a farce entitled *Tom Thumb*, the high-water mark of inanity.

Dec. 10th. Went to Hatfield² with the Prince and Princess Esterhazy. It is a large and wonderful house erected by James I. and given to Lord Cecil. Queen Elizabeth was kept prisoner in the old building, and there received the news of the death of her sister 'Bloody Mary,' as she is called.

Dec. 11th. On our return from Hatfield we went to see Gorhambury, belonging to Lord Verulam. It is a pretty place but nothing more.

Dec. 14th. The English papers are full of an absurd story of an incident which purports to have taken place between Lord Stewart³ and Prince Metternich at Troppau. The English Ambassador is said to have challenged the Prince to a duel, and on the latter's refusal to fight, to have struck him. The rumour has its origin in Paris, but up to now it is impossible to trace its exact source or object; one thing is certain, and that is that it is an invention.

Dec. 20th. Dined at the Lievens' with Lord Castlereagh. Mr. Canning has quitted the Government. The attitude he took up over the Queen's affair did not permit him to continue in a post in which he was in opposition to his colleagues, and as during next Session the discussions relative to this matter are likely to be very heated, he could not take up a passive rôle. It is a pity, however, that a man of such ability should be lost.

Dec. 25th. Dined at the Lievens' to meet the Décazes and Lord and Lady Granville. The last told me a curious story about Mrs. Fitzherbert at Brighton. A certain

¹ In Wych Street, built in 1805 by Astley. *Tom Thumb* was by Fielding.

² See Greville's *Journal* under this date where he speaks of meeting Neumann at Wherstead.

³ Brother of the Marquess of Londonderry and a noted soldier under Wellington.

Scottish Lady Stewart, supposed to possess the power of calling up the spirits of the dead or absent, was asked to give a proof of her gift. Horace Seymour was the one selected to be put in communication with the spirit whom the lady promised to summon. He was locked in a room and the company asked Lady Stewart to demand the presence of a Mr. Roberts, who had then been dead a fortnight. Horace Seymour, not knowing who was to appear, immediately recognised the ghost of Mr. Roberts and came out of the room utterly overwhelmed by his experience, although he is by no means a credulous man nor one whose imagination is easily impressed.

Summing up the events of the year, Neumann writes on December 31st that they have been remarkable. The first was the death of the King, then the assassination of the Duc de Berry, the Spanish revolution, followed by those of Naples and Portugal, the trial of the Queen which caused the postponement of the coronation, and the accouchement of the Duchesse de Berry and the Duchess of Clarence, 'one giving a son to France, the other an heir to the throne of Great Britain, always supposing the Duke of York, as is thought likely, does not marry again.'

SECTION II

THE DIARY FROM JANUARY 1821 TO DECEMBER 1822

Jan. 1st, 1821. New Year's Day in this country is not made so much of as it is on the Continent. No one offers good wishes, no one pays visits, and if this custom has its advantages in that it obviates a lot of trouble, it proves how little the English feel it necessary to give proof of their good feeling to each other. I passed a quiet day and then went to the pantomime at Drury Lane with the Esterhazys. It was called *The North-West Passage*,¹ but was much inferior to the pantomime at Covent Garden.

On the 11th Neumann goes to stay at Strathfieldsaye, where the Duke was, as usual, subjected to all sorts of questions concerning his campaigns. On this occasion Madame de Lieven asked him which of his battles he preferred, 'and naturally he said Waterloo, where, as he remarked, he had surmounted most difficulties, his army not being so good as the one he commanded in Spain and having to fight against superior numbers. He said that after a lost battle there was nothing worse than the period immediately after one gained, in view of the exhaustion of the troops, the difficulty of maintaining their energy, and of preventing those excesses to which they are eager to abandon themselves. I told him that he could not very well make the comparison because he had never lost a battle.'

Jan. 17th. Dined at Baron Fagel's with the Duc Décazes, several members of the Diplomatic Corps, and Mr. Barrow,² one of the Secretaries to the Admiralty. It was he who organised the passage to the North Pole, carried out partially by Captain Parry,³ who went further than any of his

¹ Founded on Franklin's voyage in 1819-22.

² Later Sir John Barrow (1764-1848).

³ Afterwards Sir William Parry, the noted navigator (1790-1855).

predecessors by passing Baffin Bay and pushing by way of Lancaster Sound to Copper Mine River, where he was stopped. There he passed the winter and for 95 days the sun did not shine, with the result that the darkness was profound. They are now fitting out a new expedition in order to try to effect a passage from another direction. Not that any commercial advantage is hoped to be gained, but solely in order to settle a geographical problem and to define more accurately the movements of the compass, which would bring the art of navigation to greater perfection.

Jan. 19th. Went to stay with Lord Aberdeen at the Priory (Bath), where I met all the Bathursts. I found Lady Aberdeen much improved in health. She is a beautiful woman and gives one an idea of an English lady out of a romance, but a romance of the best possible kind.¹

Jan. 23rd. The King opened Parliament in person. He began his Speech by referring to the Neapolitan affair, saying that it would be a matter of great regret to him if the events that had happened in Naples should interrupt the general tranquillity; but that should they do so his object would be to keep this country at peace. Allusion was made to the arrangements arrived at for settling the Queen's establishment. It is six months since any of the Ministers have dared to mention her name. The Speech was very well received by both Houses, and the Address was voted without a division. In the House of Lords, Lord Holland made a very violent speech solely directed against Austria and her designs on Naples, and proposed that she should be asked to repay the debt she owed this country, which amounts to some 16 or 17 millions sterling. Lord Holland had already made several speeches in the provinces and recently at Oxford, in which he called the sovereigns who are gathered at Troppau 'the Troppau Tyrants.'

Jan. 26th. The King held the first levée of the season. An important question was decided to-day in the House in

¹ She was the second wife of the 4th Earl, who married her in 1815. She was daughter of the Hon. John Douglas and widow of Lord Hamilton, thus being mother of the 1st Duke of Abercorn.

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favour of the Ministry. Lord Archibald Campbell brought forward a motion for re-inserting the Queen's name in the Prayer Book. He lost it by a majority of 101 for the Government.

Jan. 31st. The French papers announce the news of the explosion which occurred on the 27th at the Tuileries, under the King's apartments. Lord Castlereagh proposed in the House that an income of £50,000 should be allotted the Queen. The motion passed without a division. The Queen, on her side, sent a message to say that understanding this subject was to be brought forward she did not think it her duty to accept anything before her name was again printed in the Prayer Book.

Feb. 5th. Lord Tavistock, eldest son of the Duke of Bedford, brought forward a motion in the House of Commons, with a view to censuring the conduct of Ministers in their proceedings against the Queen. Mr. Peel on this occasion made a very fine speech, and although reproving the Government for their action before the trial, for having omitted the name of the Queen from the Prayer Book and for having refused her a vessel in order to bring her to this country, he defended the holding of the trial and the way in which the Ministry had conducted it.

Feb. 6th. The debate was continued on yesterday's discussion till 7 o'clock in the morning. The Government obtained a majority of 146 votes in a house of 502. Lord Castlereagh made a good speech, but slipped in a couple of phrases which created much laughter. Wishing to justify the Government in having given instructions to the embassies abroad that they should arrange for the Queen not to be received by foreign Courts, he said that had they acted otherwise she would have returned to this country with a weapon in her hand which would have served as a pretext for being treated in the same way here. In speaking of Mr. Brougham, despatched to St. Omer to negotiate with the Queen, he said that he should have kept himself open, and the Queen open, to consider other propositions.

The King went to Drury Lane in state with the Dukes of York and Clarence. He was received with extra-

ordinary enthusiasm. They sang ‘God Save the King’ three times, and ‘Rule Britannia,’ once. Some people in the gallery tried to cry ‘Long live the Queen,’ but they were drowned in the shouts of ‘God Save the King.’

Feb. 13th. Sir James Crawfurd, known for his eccentricities in Paris, went to the Duc Décazes to spend the evening. He first spoke to one of the attachés, to whom he made rude remarks about the Duke, then repeating them to a cousin of the latter. His conduct was such that these gentlemen showed him the door, whereupon he drew a pistol from his pocket; this they snatched out of his hand and took him off to the police station, where another complaint had been received about him for a very similar action against the proprietor of his hotel. The magistrate at Bow Street demanded surety of £5,000, and as this was not forthcoming Crawfurd was sent to prison.

The catholicity which marks Neumann’s entries is well exemplified in the remaining extracts for this month. Foreign politics, the opera, the new dance—the waltz, about which everyone was talking, the sad affair of Harvey Aston, and another division on the question of the Queen’s name in the Prayer Book, are among the topics dealt with :

Feb. 19th. Bad news has been received from Spain; the King has been insulted; a detachment of his guard threw itself on the crowd with the result that the King has been obliged to dismiss it; but as the Cortes alone has power to do so the guards, while awaiting further orders, have been sent to different quarters.

Lord Grey brought forward a motion in the House of Lords demanding all the documents relative to the late affairs at Naples, and blaming the Ministry for not having taken up a stronger attitude against the Allies on this matter. Lord Liverpool made a feeble reply, justifying the Government for the neutrality it had preserved, doubting at the same time if Austria had the right to interfere in the circumstances, the reasons which could justify such a right not appearing very clear. Lord Holland, as usual, made an unpleasantly violent speech against the Emperor Alexander.

Feb. 20th. Went to Covent Garden to see the new

English opera called *Don Juan*. Here they call an opera a piece filled with popular airs, that is to say with the most uncouth kind of music possible. The plot hinges on the mistakes produced by the resemblance of the two heroines. Miss Holland made her *début*. She has a charming contralto voice, very sweet, full and flexible, but totally wanting in training. The scene is laid at Naples, and there are several views of the Bay, one more beautiful than the other.

Feb. 21st. A ball at Lady Floyd's. I danced with Lady Elizabeth Murray ; it was her first waltz in London, where it has been introduced this year.¹

Sir J. Mackintosh brought forward a motion in the House of Commons similar to that of Lord Grey, about the affair at Naples. Although Lord Castlereagh replied with more force than Lord Liverpool had done in the Upper House, the majority was in proportion smaller, which proves that the matter is unpopular here. But certainly it is remarkable that of all those who voted with the Government not one has approved our conduct at Naples, and they would not have thus voted had it not been to support Ministers in the principle of neutrality which they have observed on this occasion.

Feb. 23rd. A dreadful event is the talk of the town to-day. A Mr. Harvey Aston, Lady Hertford's nephew, has poisoned himself at Genoa because he is said to have hopelessly compromised Lady Oxford's two daughters. He eloped with one of them, Lady Charlotte, whose mother joined them at Alexandria. He was married to a woman against whom he was bringing an action for adultery, but he could not obtain a divorce because she proved that he not merely neglected her, but ran after other women and had given her a disease.

Neumann counteracts the effects of this distressing news by going in the evening to the first *comédie française*, as it was called, at the Argyll Rooms,² when Joly, 'formerly an actor at the Vaudeville, made his *début* here in *Lantara*, a feeble play only made possible by

¹ See Gronow's *Reminiscences* for notices of the waltz, as well as Byron's well-known poem on the subject.

² Then recently rebuilt by Nash in Regent Street. See page 203.

the skill of the actor' As Secretary to the Austrian Embassy the Diarist was naturally particularly interested in the circumstances mentioned in the following entry, which he therefore gives at some length.

March 2nd. Lord Lansdowne brought forward a motion in the House of Lords with the object of presenting an address to the King, with a view to making it known that the English Government consider the conduct of the Allies, and the declaration made by Austria with regard to Naples, as being contrary to the policy of this country and of Europe generally. Lord Liverpool's speech was a moderate one, but Lord Holland called the declaration atrocious and hypocritical, and branded the allied sovereigns as blusterers. Lord Liverpool replied in a manner that even outdid the arguments of Lord Lansdowne in saying that the King of Spain had provoked the revolution in his country; that he (Lord Liverpool) condemned in principle the declaration made by Austria, and that she in conjunction with Russia and Prussia could hardly have made public a more ill-considered one. Comparing this language with that of Mr. Pitt on the subject of the French Revolution one sees at a glance the difference in the matter of energy between the two administrations. One expects weakness from the present Government, but hardly that it should defend rebellion at the expense of the monarchical principle and the order which the sovereigns desire to preserve.

The succeeding entry tells of the incident which did so much to lessen Queen Caroline's popularity and which, as Neumann says, gave the *coup de grâce* to her case.

March 9th. The Queen has written to Lord Liverpool asking him to thank the King for having procured her an income of £50,000 from Parliament. She adds that she hopes that in time His Majesty will allow her name to be reinstated in the Prayer Book. This has given the death-blow to her cause, especially after she announced that she would receive nothing until her name was again printed in the Prayer Book. The insignificance into which she has sunk might almost make one think that she cannot be the same person on whose account a revolution was feared only

six months ago. She has been treated worse by the Commons than by the Lords, and all the efforts made on her behalf have failed. Nobody has defended her vigorously, not even Brougham or Denman. She is a striking example of the value of popular applause. Had I not seen it, I could not have believed so great a contrast. The Duke of Wellington, who in 1814 and 1815 was regarded as a god, was hissed and insulted during the Queen's trial; now everything has been changed, Parliament has given its verdict and the people submit to it. This certainly proves that commonsense, of which there is so much in this country, has triumphed. Mr. Brougham, who has certainly earned for himself an immortal reputation by his defence of the Queen in the House of Lords, has fallen in the House of Commons to the attacks of Lord Castlereagh, who charged him with duplicity in the matters preceding the trial. He has not been able to justify himself in this respect any more than he has over others which a newspaper called *John Bull*¹ has published. They say that from annoyance and disappointment he has gone on the Northern circuit, a decent pretext for leaving Parliament, where he would have much preferred to stay if he could have done so to his own satisfaction. The Opposition is divided among itself. Mr. Tierney² has resigned his seat. They say that the leaders of the Radical party demand concessions which the old Whigs won't make.

March 13th. Went to hear *La Gazza Ladra*, one of the best of Rossini's operas. The representation was weak, Madame Camporese alone being worth hearing.

March 15th. News has been received that two Cavalry regiments have revolted at Alessandria; that the King, having held a council of state at Turin, caused the garrison to be sounded, when they said that in spite of their devotion to him they could not fight against their comrades, and that besides they had two requests to make: one for a constitution and the other for permission to march against us (Austria). After all that occurred last year, one cannot imagine how Governments can allow themselves to be

¹ See Greville *re John Bull*, vol. 2, p. 97.

² He had been leader of the Opposition from 1817.

taken thus by surprise. It is difficult to calculate the consequences of the new revolution as things are now ; in Italy they are likely to be incalculable if we have not at this moment a sufficient force in Lombardy to maintain order in our Italian provinces and to hold Piedmont in check until the expedition against Naples is over. Spanish news is more reassuring, the King having changed his Ministry.

March 16th. The Duke of Wellington told me that the Piedmont affair should not affect our military operations at Naples ; that the moral effect of this revolution was incalculable, but that if we had 40,000 men at this moment in Lombardy that would be sufficient to hold Piedmont. The interest taken in this country on behalf of the Italians is beyond words, even members of the Government exhibit an indecent satisfaction over the late events in Piedmont.

March 20th. News was received to-day of the abdication of the King of Sardinia in favour of the Prince de Carignan. There comes, too, through commercial channels, the more alarming news from Italy that our army under General Frimont¹ has been defeated by the Italians at Rieti on the 9th instant. I doubt the truth of these reports, which are probably set on foot in order to affect the money-market as well as public opinion by the revolutionary party, which would move heaven and earth to revolutionise all Europe. Paris seems to be the centre of these infernal plots.

March 21st. Confirmation of the report that the King of Sardinia has abdicated in favour of his brother the Duke of Genoa, who is at the moment at Modena. The Prince de Carignan has been named Regent in his absence.

March 22nd. The King held a Drawing Room. The Queen had expressed her intention of coming to present a petition to His Majesty relative to her name being inserted in the Prayer Book. Everyone was afraid that she would do so, especially as her carriage had been seen at her door. But apparently she only wanted to give her husband a fright.

¹ b. 1759, d. 1831. He eventually quelled the insurrection at Naples during this year.

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The Mr. Watson Taylor mentioned in the following entry was a well-known man in society and a great collector. He lived first in Grafton Street, but in 1820 bought the house in Cavendish Square where we find Neumann dining. It had previously belonged to another great connoisseur, Mr Henry Hope, and it was during his occupation of it that Lady Jersey once cut the Prince of Wales at a ball here. Watson Taylor gave £20,000 for the place and spent over £48,000 in decorations and repairs.

March 24th. Dined at Watson Taylor's, meeting the Prince and Princess Esterhazy, the Lievens, the Duke of Wellington, Lords Liverpool, Castlereagh, Westmorland, Sidmouth, and Camden. The splendour of this house equals that of those belonging to the greatest nobles. Watson Taylor's wealth is derived from the colonial possessions of his wife ; it is estimated at £100,000 a year. The plate is as fine as the King's ; he has, too, some wonderful pictures, among them a Parmigiano which was sold for £7,000 ; there is also a Sèvres porcelain table which once belonged to Madame Dubarry, for which Watson Taylor also paid £7,000. All the furniture is in the same magnificent style. Notwithstanding all these riches I wish he had a better cook ; the wines were, however, good.

The progress of the Austro-Italian campaign forms the chief portion of the remaining entries in the diary for this month, although there are references to the Catholic Emancipation Movement, as well as some theatrical news.

March 25th. The French *chargé d'affaires* has heard by courier that it was decided at Laybach on the 15th instant to put our (the Austrian) army on a war footing ; to raise that in Lombardy to 65,000 men ; and that orders have been sent to General Frimont to push on against Naples. The Emperor Alexander, on the reception of the news of the Piedmont revolt, ordered 100,000 troops to march on Italy.

March 26th. News has arrived of the progress of our troops in the Abruzzi, of the entry of General Wallmoden into Aquila, and of the movement of General Stutterheim against Salmoda, behind Popoli, where the junction of the three high-roads from Pescara, Spoleto and Tivoli, by Tegliacorso, Alba and Armeno, is situated. The way in

which the Neapolitans have abandoned various strong positions at the entrance to the Abruzzi without putting up any resistance seems to indicate that they wish to concentrate in some spot in order to join battle, and it is considered likely that Salmoda will be the place.

March 27th. Dined at the Duke of York's, to meet Prince Leopold, the Russian, Dutch and Austrian Ambassadors, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Anglesey, Lord Mansfield and Lord Cathcart. We did not leave the table till 11 o'clock. The Catholics have to-day made much way in the House of Lords. After having recently succeeded in getting into Parliament subject to the Bill passing, a debate took place to-day on an amendment by Mr. Peel for excluding them from being judges and privy councillors, which was lost by a majority of 19. Another amendment proposed by Mr. Goulburn with the object of not admitting them to the Governorship of the colonies or other over-seas possessions was rejected by a majority of 43.

March 28th. News has arrived by courier of a counter-revolution in Naples; that the Parliament there had been dissolved; that the King had been recalled; that the Neapolitan troops had been defeated; and that nobody knows what has become of General Pope. Carascom was at Aversa with the handful of troops he was able to save. A counter-revolution at Turin is also expected.

March 29th. Went to Covent Garden with Prince and Princess Esterhazy and Mr. and Mrs. Littleton to see *The Stranger*, translated from the German of Kotzebue. A new actress, Miss Dance, took Mrs. Haller's part, originally filled by the incomparable Miss O'Neill, whom she tries to imitate in spite of the fact that the latter is inimitable. All the same, Miss Dance was here and there excellent. Her movements are graceful, she is very young and has therefore time to improve, and she is very pretty.

March 30th. News from Turin arrived on the 24th and 25th instant, announcing that Prince Carignan had abdicated the regency and had placed himself under the orders of General Latour, who commands the royal troops. The Prince of Genoa, second brother of the King on whom the

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crown had devolved by the latter's abdication, happily being at Modena at the time, protested against the new arrangement, which has thus placed the pseudo-government in a very awkward predicament. The news of our success in the Abruzzi and at Naples has also done much towards completing the drama begun on the 13th of March and ended on the 21st. Many here look very foolish after having exhibited a ridiculous satisfaction at the so-called initial success of the Neapolitans.

During April Neumann has one or two entries concerning the affairs in Italy in which he, as Secretary to the Austrian Embassy, naturally took more interest than the reader is now likely to do : the news of the armistice signed between General Fiquelmont and General Ambrosio ; the passage of the Ticino by Austrian troops on the 8th ; the dissolution of the Junta at Turin, and the subsequent occupation of Alessandria by Austrian troops conjointly with those of the King Victor Emanuel I. 'Thus,' remarks the Diarist, 'ends a revolution which lasted just a month. The ease with which it was stopped shows the feebleness of the party which organised it, and the mistake we made in being frightened by the clamour of demagogues and their partisans,' and as a rhetorical flourish he adds, 'Truth, like a good ship tossed by the storm, rises triumphant when guided by a capable pilot'.

Other records of a more generally interesting character appear in the diary at this time. Thus on the 11th we read of the death of Lord Londonderry and in consequence Lord Castlereagh's elevation to the Upper House. We hear, too, of Lady Jane Paget who, much to society's horror, was reported as going to be married to a Mr. Ball, 'whose wealth was greater than his birth,' but could not bring herself to fix the wedding day, and so the engagement was broken off.¹ Another entry tells us that the King has given his portrait surrounded by diamonds to the Princess Charlotte, and accompanied the gift by a charming letter in which he says he hopes she will wear it, and that if it could speak it would tell how fatherly were his sentiments towards her !

Parliament provided one topic of conversation, thus noticed :

April 18th. A lively scene was expected in the House to-day, Mr. Hobhouse having yesterday vigorously attacked the character of Mr. Canning with regard to Mr. Lambton's motion on Reform. But this motion, which was to have

¹ As a matter of fact she married, in 1824, the 2nd Marquess of Conyngham ; she died in 1876.

been debated to-day, came to a curious termination, that is to say there were no speakers to support it, and on going to a division it was lost, Mr. Lambton, who had been absent, arriving just as the matter was closed. Mr. Canning did not speak, and everyone is curious to see how he will repel Mr. Hobhouse's attack ; a duel is expected to be the upshot.

April 21st. Passed a part of the evening reading Lord Byron's new tragedy *Marino Faliero*, based on an historical incident which occurred at Venice in 1355. The author has exhibited much talent, the characters are well drawn ; but conspiracies resemble each other, and Schiller in *Fiesco* and Otway in *Venice Preserved* have, in my opinion, done better, in spite of the fact that Byron has carefully followed historic facts as recorded by Sanuto and Daru. But the situations are too similar to those in the above-mentioned plays. *Marino Faliero* is not suitable for stage presentation ; it is too long, and yet it is full of interest from beginning to end. The principal scenes consist of a dialogue between the Doge and his wife, a monologue by Lioni which begins Act 4, and the conspirators' scene whither the Doge is brought by Israel Bertuccio. It occurs in the church of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo, where the Doge's ancestors are buried, and one of whom is represented by a statue¹ in the piazza outside the church. The Doge's invocation in the sacred edifice is a sublime effort.

On the 25th Neumann goes with the Esterhazys to Richmond where the Lievens were also staying, and the next day he visits Ham House, which he speaks of as having already seen two years earlier. On the 27th he passes on to The Priory as the guest of Lord Aberdeen, where he finds, among others, the Bathursts, the Worcesters, and Rogers the poet. There he remained three days, equally enjoying the country and the companionship of his fellow-guests. He finishes the month by being present at Lady Jersey's first *soirée* and a 'delightful ball at Lady Sefton's.'

May opened with a fairy spectacle at Covent Garden called *Undine*, 'the scenery of which was magnificent ;' a royal Drawing Room and Ball, and a performance at the Opera for Mdlle. Noblet's benefit, at which *Nina* was performed, Neumann finding Mdlle. Noblet not equal to Rigottini who had made the part a triumph in

¹ The famous Colleoni statue by Verrocchio.

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Paris, but recognizing that the former's grace of movement does much to make up for her inferiority in other ways. On the 5th the Diarist is at a children's party at Osterley Park, and on his return hears that Madame de Flahault is dying, a circumstance he says 'which occasions great consternation in Society, which is as a body devoted to her.' On the 8th he has another popular rising, so many of which occurred on the Continent at this time, to chronicle :

May 8th. News has been received of the revolution in Rio de Janeiro on February 26th.¹ Count Palmella did everything he could to prevent it by begging the King to grant concessions spontaneously rather than to await their being forced from him. The latter only consented when it was too late, that is to say on the 25th, and deceived his Ministers in such a way as is likely to cost him his crown. It was agreed to proclaim the basis on which the King should establish his new charter. They published everything except those points which contained all that the Brazilian and Portuguese nations desired. The people saw in this bait only half measures and were more irritated than satisfied. Don Thomas Antonio is accused of having thwarted Count Palmella in his designs, in flattering the tastes, or rather the feebleness, of the King, and in making the latter imagine that the danger was not so imminent as it was. Thus it is that monarchs lose their thrones and their subjects, and destroy the peace of the world by confiding to factions the secrets and most precious interests of the art of government, and by proving above all that the majesty of the throne is not inviolable.

May 10th. The King (George IV.) stood godfather to the Countess Lieven's child, who might almost have asked for this high honour himself, as he is a year and a half old. The Duke of York was the second godfather, and the Princess Esterhazy represented the Empress of Russia as godmother. There was music afterwards and the company then went on to a ball at the Duke of Devonshire's.

May 11th. At Count Münster's, where there was the same entertainment as there had been yesterday at Count

¹ The time which the news took in transmission seems strange enough to us nowadays

Lieven's, for the King's amusement. They had sent for the actor Joly, who gave recitations, some of which were tedious and not in very good taste. However, the King seemed amused, particularly by the way Joly imitated the English. Seated by the side of his favourite, Lady Conyngham, he was pleased with everything, even the marionettes. It is a curious sight in such a century as ours to see a king exhibiting in public his weaknesses ; it is a contrast with the dignity of sovereignty, particularly at a time when attempts are made on all sides to upset it, and especially when matched with the morality of other rulers such as the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia, whose piety and uprightness form the strongest protection against the bad feelings of the age.

Society experienced a great loss to-day. Lady Worcester died from internal inflammation after a week's suffering. On returning from a Court ball she took a cold bath. Young, pretty, the quintessence of elegance, called to fill one of the first positions in the country, her husband being the eldest son of the Duke of Beaufort, her death frightens those who, feeling remote from it, cannot recognise with indifference how close it can be. She was a niece of the Duke of Wellington, being daughter of his sister, Lady Ann Smyth. I knew her well, saw her nearly every day, and sometimes stayed in the country with her. More lively and more amiable than English ladies are as a rule, her society was delightful to foreigners, and in addition she had a great share of that easy, affectionate and equable manner which appeals to men more than a striking superiority, which their self-love does not care to meet with in women. She died with resignation and courage in spite of much suffering. Yet she remarked : 'I never thought it was so painful to die.' She never appeared more beautiful than on the day of the ball, which she left to pass into her tomb. This is the sort of contrast that gives pause to the stoutest-hearted.

May 20th. Two days ago they performed a very painful operation on the King's head. They cut away a tumour which was thought to be soft but proved to be a very hard one. The operation lasted twelve minutes and they broke

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two instruments while doing it, which caused the King great suffering.

Neumann's record for this month was on the whole not a gay one, the death of Lady Worcester and the operation on the King being followed by an accident to himself, which was happily followed by what he calls a miraculous cure. On the 21st he had dined with Lord Ellenborough in the country and the same evening had been present at a ball at Almack's when Miss Fitzgerald, daughter of Lord Robartes, was the belle of the evening. Three days later he had occasion to go to the City, and here is what happened :

May 24th. Went in the morning on business to the city in my tilbury. Coming back it began to rain. I opened my umbrella and gave the reins to my groom, who ran into a carriage which was passing. The shock was so violent that I was thrown out of the tilbury and alighted on my head. I received several bad bruises and my face was cut all over. On returning home they placed leeches on the parts which had suffered most, and also bled me. I lost 25 ounces of blood and felt greatly relieved.

Although his face was in a terrible condition the bruises went down remarkably quickly, and so soon did the scars heal that by the sixth day after the accident he was able to go out, when it was supposed that he would have had to remain indoors for at least a fortnight.

The entries for the following month may be given in a brief summary, as they are chiefly short ones of a social character. Thus on the 4th he went to the Derby with the Esterhazys and Caraman, the crowd being very large, and the Queen, who was there, being badly received. Gustavus, a horse belonging to Mr. Turner, won. On June 10th he notes the death of Lady Liverpool¹ as having occurred that day. She was, he says, particularly noted for her wit, her style and good manners, a sister of Lord Bristol and of the Dowager Duchess of Devonshire. On the 14th, at a dinner followed by a ball and concert given by the Duke of Devonshire for the King, we learn that His Majesty and Lady Conyngham never quitted each other, although 'she looked as bored as usual.' That morning the proclamation of the Coronation to take place on the 19th July was made by the Heralds, with the usual ceremony.

In the midst of some fatiguing weeks of 'balls without end,' Neumann is delighted on the 15th to hear 'a great artist on the

¹ Louisa Theodosia, youngest daughter of the 4th Earl of Bristol and sister of the 1st Marquess, married to the 2nd Earl of Liverpool. The peerage gives her death as occurring on June 12th.

piano, Moscheles,¹ play at the Embassy, who astonished us not only by his extraordinary talent but by his exquisite taste and the novelty of his style of execution.' Under date of June 22nd a longer entry, divided between politics and social life, occurs :

Yesterday there was a discussion in the House of Commons concerning the declarations of Laybach, during which Lord Londonderry² affirmed that the doctrines of the allies were destructive to the independence of other States and opposed to the common principles of good sense. On the 22nd there was another motion by a Mr. Smyth relative to our (the Austrian) debt. Mr. Ward on this occasion made against us one of the most violent and insolent speeches ever heard.

The Duke of Devonshire was invited for to-day to the King's Cottage at Windsor. It did not require more to create an 'event.' His party regards this favour most jealously, various interpretations being placed on it. Some say that it is Lady Conyngham, who, in the hope of marrying her daughter Lady Elizabeth to the Duke, makes the King do this ; others think it is because the favourite has a partiality for the Opposition. It is probable that there is something of both in the circumstance.

June 25th. The Queen has put in train again an effort to be at the Coronation. It is thought that she has the right to be present at the banquet although she may not have that of being crowned.

Neumann's passionate delight in music is indicated by the particularity with which he enters in his journal anything to do with it. Thus although three lines on the 28th are sufficient to record the fact that the Duchess of Kent and Prince Leopold dined at the Embassy, going on afterwards to the Duke of Devonshire's last *soirée* of the season, he gives a comparatively long account of the Opera, two days later.

June 30th. Dined early in order to hear *Il Turco in Italia* with Rossini's lovely music, which keeps me in a constant state of delight. If Rossini does not always appeal straight to the heart, he has at least discovered the

¹ Ignaz Moscheles, 1794-1870, a noted German composer and pianist. Mendelssohn was among his pupils.

² He had apparently not yet taken his seat in the House of Lords.

secret of touching the imagination. It is the style of the composition of the period which, by the effect of rapid transitions and the syncopated movement of his music, produces telling effects. The productions of the arts and sciences nearly always follow the spirit of the age. They are so much in unison that it is difficult to say which exercises the greater influence. Perhaps they are actuated by a spontaneous power.

The earlier entries for July deal with the news, only just then received, of the death of Napoleon I., which had occurred in the preceding May. Like so many records in diaries concerning contemporary events, the details given have become long since matters of historic knowledge, but should here be read as information which at that time only privileged people were acquainted with :

July 3rd. The news was received to-day of Bonaparte's death, which occurred at St. Helena on May 6th, at ten minutes past six in the evening. He died in the same manner as his father, from a cancer in the stomach, which was found completely perforated, the pylorus being obstructed. He had been ill for six weeks, during the first four of which he had fearful attacks of vomiting at frequent intervals ; he suffered less the last two weeks. Believing that his disease was the same as his father's he ordered that his body should be opened after his death, to make sure and in order that his son might be informed. During his last moments they put a blister on his chest, but persuaded of its inefficacy, and loathing to live under such conditions, he tore it off. He asked that he should be buried in the island in a spot he pointed out not far from his house, and between two weeping willows, close to a fountain where two Chinese servants used to draw the water he drank. They say he has made a will and has left directions concerning his papers. This event, which a few years ago would have created excitement in the most remote parts of the world, is to-day hardly noticed,¹ so completely has the prestige which once surrounded this man passed away. The English Government gains at least £300,000 a

¹ It will be remembered that Talleyrand on hearing the news described as an event remarked. 'Ce n'est pas un évènement, c'est seulement une nouvelle.'

year by this, since it means the giving up of the establishment at St. Helena, which cost it even more than this amount yearly.

July 7th. Subsequent messages from St. Helena report that Bonaparte was buried there in the spot he had selected. By a codicil he desired that his body should be taken to France and buried on the banks of the Seine amidst the people he had loved so much, but that if this was not permitted, that he should be interred in the spot before named. The contents of his will are not yet known. But they say that he has left his heart to Marie Louise and his stomach to his son in order that the nature of his death may be discovered.

Like an unhappy and restless ghost the Queen's affair still pops up and down amid entries concerning all sorts of other matters. Thus on the 6th we read that Mr. Brougham brought before the Privy Council the Queen's demand to be present at the Coronation, when we are told he delivered a very learned discourse full of historical precedents and citing the examples of all the Queens who had been crowned from Saxon times (A.D. 784) down to our own days. Again on the 11th, on the occasion of the prorogation of Parliament, Mr. Hume tried to bring forward a motion in favour of the royal lady by proving her right to be crowned in spite of the fact that the Privy Council had decided this question against her unanimously with the exception of one member, Lord Grosvenor. 'In the meanwhile,' says Neumann, 'she has announced her intention of being present, and it is believed that she cannot be prevented.' Under date of July 14th a singular circumstance is reported, the news of which was received about this time :

July 14th. So many amazing things have happened at the close of the last and the beginning of this century that one will begin to believe in miracles if many instances similar to the following occur : They say that there is a peasant at Wurzburg who possesses the power of curing people by moral force. The youngest daughter of Prince Joseph Schwarzenberg, who since the age of 14 had suffered from scrofula, after having consulted all the doctors in Europe, was cured immediately by this man, who said to her 'Walk,' and she walked. In the same way the Crown Prince of Bavaria, who was very deaf, recovered his hearing after every sort of remedy had been tried and failed.

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July 16th. News has been received of the arrival of the King¹ at Lisbon on the 3rd, and of his going at once to the Cortes and there swearing to abide by the Constitution of May 9th. The disembarkation of Count Palmella was opposed. In the evening I went to a concert given by Catalani, whose voice is more remarkable than ever. She astonishes, however, rather than pleases.

July 17th. The Queen has sent to the Earl Marshal (Mr. Howard of Effingham, who officiates in the place of the Duke of Norfolk, the latter being a Catholic and thus unable to do so) to say that she is determined to take part in the Coronation. His reply to her has been that the King not having considered it possible to agree to such a demand, he cannot disobey the royal orders.

The following entries give a vivid word-picture of George IV.'s Coronation, the most sumptuous and expensive that has ever taken place in this country. Neumann's account of this gorgeous ceremonial may be compared with that which Haydon the painter gives of it in his autobiography

July 19th. Coronation Day. It was the most magnificent ceremony which it is, I believe, possible to imagine : splendour, gorgeousness, grandeur, dignity, majesty, were all exhibited in it. We started at 6 o'clock in the morning and arrived at 7.30 at Westminster Hall, which was already full of people. This vast place contained at least ten thousand persons, including a great number of ladies, all with feathers in their hair, which produced a superb effect. The King arrived at 10 o'clock precisely, followed by the whole of his Court. The peers of the realm had preceded him, as well as the knights of the different orders in full dress ; those of the Garter being for the most part peers, only Prince Leopold² of Cobourg and Lord Londonderry appeared in this costume. The King was dressed in a mantle of red velvet embroidered in gold and turned back with ermine. The train of his robe was very long and was borne by eight gentlemen. He wore a hat à la Henri

¹ John VI., who returned from Brazil. He died five years later.

² Afterwards Leopold I, King of the Belgians ; b. 1790, d. 1865. He married Princess Charlotte in 1816 ; and later Princess Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe (1832). See also page 211.

IV., surmounted by white feathers, and had on the collars of the Golden Fleece and the Garter.

The Chapter of Westminster Abbey, which is the depository of the insignia of sovereignty, presented these emblems successively to the Lord High Constable, who was for this occasion the Duke of Wellington, and he handed them to the Lord High Chamberlain of England, an hereditary office filled by Lord Gwydyr, who placed them before the King. His Majesty at once caused them to be handed to the various spiritual and temporal peers who in virtue of their posts, or by prerogatives inherent in their families, possess the right to fulfil the offices indicated by these marks and distinctions of royalty. This being done, the procession to the Abbey was formed. It was here that the dazzling richness and magnificence of the scene was exhibited to a degree unexpected even by those who had taken part in the rehearsals of the ceremony. The precision and beauty of the dresses carried one's mind back to the days in which they had their origin. While the procession passed to the Abbey by a covered way formed outside between it and Westminster Hall, the *corps diplomatique*, as well as the peeresses and their daughters, reached the Abbey by a shorter route. We arrived there a quarter of an hour before the King.

Immediately everyone had taken his place the ceremony of the Coronation began. As the details are to be found in the programme issued for the occasion I will only notice the incidents that chiefly struck me. Of these the first was the moment when the Archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown on the King's head. The people with one accord shouted 'God Save the King!'; the blare of the trumpets and drums, as well as of the cannon at the Tower, produced a magical effect, and at the same moment all the peers placed their coronets on their heads. The second splendid moment was when they paid homage to the King. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as representing the spiritual peers, knelt before him, touched his crown as if it had been a sacred object, and kissed him on the left cheek. The Princes of the Blood Royal did the same, as well as all the temporal peers.

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The various degrees through which the King had to pass for the ceremony of coronation take up much time, and on this occasion lasted three hours, but it is impossible to describe the imposing and awe-inspiring effect produced. The King appeared so fatigued by the heat and weighed down by his heavy robes that everyone thought he would have fainted ; he was so pale and even livid that it frightened people. But having to retire twice in order to change his costume the opportunity was taken advantage of to give him restoratives. His Majesty informed the *corps diplomatique*, by the Duke of Wellington, that it should join the procession on the return to Westminster Hall, which was done, and the spectacle outside was in its way not less curious. All the galleries which had been erected along the route followed by the procession were filled with a vast crowd, composed in great part of people of the middle class, since many of them paid as much as four guineas each for a place.

On returning into Westminster Hall there was much crowding at the entrance. The door-keepers, not knowing that the *corps diplomatique* was following, closed the folding doors in haste, and for a moment there was fear of some of us being crushed. However, orders were given for the doors to be reopened, and we passed in safely. On our arrival at our places the Master of the Ceremonies, Sir Robert Chester, conducted us into a chamber where a cold collation had been prepared ; while the King retired to rest for a time. He reappeared five hours later for the ceremony of the banquet, surrounded as before by the great officers of State, the High Constable, the Duke of Wellington ; the Lord Chamberlain of the Royal Household, the Marquis of Anglesey, representing the Earl of Hertford, and the Earl Marshal's deputy, Mr. Howard of Effingham, acting on behalf of the Duke of Norfolk. These three great officers of State appeared on horseback before the steps of the platform on which the banquet was served during the first course, and retired backwards according to custom. The Dukes of York, Clarence, Sussex and Cambridge, and Prince Leopold, were present at the feast. When the second course was served the King's Champion

came in on horseback, fully armed and accompanied by the High Constable and the Lord High Chamberlain, also mounted. The owner of Scrivelsby¹ in Lincolnshire possesses the right of Champion in virtue of possessing this manor, but as the existing owner is a clergyman his son appeared as his deputy, preceded by a herald proclaiming a defiance to anyone who should deny that King George IV. was the rightful monarch. The Champion throws down his gauntlet, which as a matter of course not being taken up by anybody, is handed back to him by his herald. On which the King drinks to the Champion's health from a gold cup, which is then handed to the latter, who also drinks from it, crying 'God Save the King!' This being done he retires backward from the royal presence, carrying with him the cup as his perquisite.

After this, Garter King-of-Arms proclaims in Latin, French, and English the King's titles. At the close of the dinner the King drinks to the Lord Mayor and the twelve principal City Companies, as well as to the Mayor of Oxford and the eight chief city fathers, and, lastly, to the health of the peers of the realm and his faithful subjects as a whole, after which His Majesty retires with his *cortège*.

If it is easy to relate the various stages through which the ceremony passes from first to last, it is not so easy to describe the effect which is produced on the mind of the spectator. I went with the idea of seeing a theatrical show, and I came away filled with a religious feeling. Nothing is comparable with the Coronation itself; the sermon alone seemed too long.

In the middle of it an incident of another nature made a fearful contrast with the event itself. A clergyman amongst the spectators was suddenly seized with an attack of apoplexy in the middle of the people and surrounded by a number of ladies. They bled him in the arm and the temple, but it was of no avail; he was carried out dying, and before he could be placed in a room he had expired. A lady, who by her terrible cries was evidently his wife,

¹ The Dymoke family, as descended through the female line from the Marmions, lords of Fontenay, who were hereditary champions to the Dukes of Normandy. The Dymokes first exercised it in the reign of Richard II.

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attracted the attention of those even who could not see her. Her screams in the midst of this vast place and during a profound silence had a most horrible and distressing effect. We were standing for 19 hours, many for 24. A large number had taken their places in Westminster Hall at one o'clock in the morning. The heat was so great at one time that men and women fainted and fell on all sides like flies. The Princess Esterhazy was among these and she had to be carried out, but recovered before the return of the King for the banquet.

The Queen tried to enter Westminster Hall between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning as well as the Abbey, but she was refused admittance everywhere. She walked from Westminster Hall to the Abbey doors followed by a mob, which formed a curious contrast to the King's procession which passed a few hours later. She returned to her residence, and the people committed some excesses in the town, amongst others damaging one of Prince Paul Esterhazy's carriages. We did not get back to the Embassy till half-past eleven at night. Prince Victor Metternich, who had only arrived the night before at 10 o'clock, was not able to obtain a ticket for the ceremony.

After the Coronation such events as Neumann has to chronicle for the remainder of the month, interesting as some of them are, come as rather an anti-climax; but during August the illness and death of Queen Caroline, and the excitement attending her funeral, give the Diarist an opportunity for some notes of historic importance. Records of social engagements such as balls and dinners, unless connected with some circumstance of more special social importance, need not concern us. On the 25th Neumann goes to the French play, then being given at the Argyll Rooms, to see the actor Poste in *Le Nouveau Porceaugnac*; while the next day at the Drawing Room he observes that Lady Jersey was particularly well received by the King. In the evening a fancy dress ball at the Austrian Embassy was attended by the Duke of York and the Duke of Wellington, the latter in the uniform of an Austrian field-marshall. The season closed with a dinner at Lord Yarmouth's, at which Prince Esterhazy, the Duc de Grammont, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Londonderry were present, followed by a ball at Mr. Hope's, 'which was,' Neumann remarks, 'the final amusement of the season.'

On August 4th we read that the Queen became dangerously ill from internal inflammation. She was better the next day but not

out of danger, indeed such was her condition that she made her Will. As a matter of fact the end was imminent, and on the 7th she expired.

Aug. 7th. The Queen of England died to-day at 10.25 p.m. as the result of an internal inflammation. This princess had acquired a sad and deplorable notoriety. She had abandoned the qualities characteristic of her sex, patience, submission and resignation, for a system of audacity, effrontery, and bravado, which gradually alienated from her the goodwill of those who at first sympathised with and supported her claims. Her last act of this kind was her attempt to force her way into the Abbey during the Coronation, although it had been proved to her that she would not be allowed to take part in it. Her action could not but be productive of violence, which under such circumstances might have had disastrous results, had not the people exhibited more good sense than might have been expected when such an opportunity for disorder was afforded them.

Aug. 8th. Went to Drury Lane to see the Coronation represented in a manner of which the accuracy was rather scandalous, inasmuch as they not merely copied the general effect, the manners and gestures of the King, but also the religious portion of the ceremony, such as the kneeling of the King at the altar and the anointing, and the archbishops and bishops are represented in their vestments carrying the religious emblems such as the Chalice, the Bible, etc. in the procession.

Aug. 14th. To-day the body of the late Queen was removed from Brandenburg House¹ in order to embark it at Harwich. There has been some correspondence on this matter between Lady Hood, one of the Queen's attendants, and Lord Liverpool. She desired that the body should not be moved till the 16th, while in her Will the Queen had given directions that nothing should be done to it till three days after her death, and this was the eighth day. Lady Hood did not want a guard of honour, but the King's

¹ At Hammersmith, on the river. It had been the residence of Lady Craven (Margravine of Anspach) and later of Bubb-Dodington, Lord Melcombe, who called it 'La Trappé.'

orders being peremptory, they were carried out. The crowds which lined the route were immense, and they tried to force the procession to pass through the city, although the route assigned was by Kensington Gravel Pits,¹ Tyburn, Edgware Road, and the New Road.² The crowd had barricaded the first-named passages and the cortège made its way by Hyde Park. When it arrived at that part of Oxford Street which joins the Edgware Road, an attack was made by the people with the object of preventing the funeral procession from entering the latter thoroughfare. The Riot Act was read and the military were obliged to use force. Two persons were killed and several wounded on this occasion. When the procession reached the New Road at its junction with the Tottenham Court Road there were the same obstacles, and the magistrate, Sir Robert Baker, ordered the latter route to be followed, and as the procession was unable to return to the New Road it was obliged to continue its march by way of the city. There is little doubt that this scandalous behaviour had been organised by the leaders of the Radical party, who had been engaged for days previously in inciting the people by means of public meetings. The military detachment forming the escort was insufficient, and Sir R. Baker showed little energy in allowing his hand to be forced by the mob at the corner of the Tottenham Court Road. He ought to have stopped the procession, surrounded it, and prevented the crowd from approaching it, while awaiting reinforcements of troops. It creates a bad example to give way on such occasions. Power and authority once overcome are liable to be so frequently, and God knows to what that leads.

Aug. 15th. The funeral procession reached Colchester, and in the church there an altercation took place between Sir George Nayler and Dr. Lushington,³ who wished to place on the coffin the inscription chosen by the Queen and mentioned in one of the codicils to her Will: ‘Here lies

¹ That part of Kensington now known as Notting Hill and Campden Hill.

² i.e. the Marylebone-Euston Road.

³ See references to him in Creevey's *Diary*, where a letter from him to Brougham will be found, vol. 2, p 22.

Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England.' Dr. Lushington succeeded in his design, but on the following day before the procession re-started Sir G. Nayler had the inscription removed.

After having made a three days' expedition (August 16th-18th), partly in his tilbury and partly riding, by Epsom, Leatherhead, Burford Bridge, where he put up at 'a delightful little inn,' Godstone and Sevenoaks, a countryside which so excited his admiration that he calls it 'a little Switzerland with the added advantage of a number of parks, houses, and fields which give it a rich and leisured air to be found nowhere but in England,' Neumann had to return to town on Embassy business. Kept in London by the same cause, he diverts himself in this off-season as well as he can, one day going to Greenwich, no doubt to eat whitebait; on another climbing to the top of St. Paul's, whence he obtained 'one of the most beautiful views possible;' on yet another going again to see *The Coronation* at Drury Lane, after having had two teeth out in the morning! Later he visits Vauxhall with M. de Souza, and on the 25th is again able to get away from town for a couple of days to Shirley, a place belonging to his friend Mr. Maberley, M.P., with whom he frequently stayed.

Aug. 25th. It is a charming spot, 17 miles from London. Close by the Archbishop of Canterbury has a fine estate called Addington Park. It is the Archbishop's country residence, Lambeth being his town house. His income is £20,000, and he has a large patronage. He is primate of all England and occupies the first place after the royal family.

Aug. 27th. Dined with Lord Palmerston to meet the Bathursts, Lady Surtees, Lady E. Vernon and Lady Harrowby. Yesterday they buried at Hammersmith the bodies of Honey and Francis, the two men killed on the day of the Queen's funeral. On returning the crowd stopped in front of the Guards' barracks, and after the mob had insulted them there was a scuffle, and the Riot Act was read. Several people were wounded, including the colonel of the regiment, Mr. Lygon, and Lieutenant Locke.

There follows a number of entries recording dinner parties and a visit to Lord Aberdeen at the Priory, and again to Mr. Maberley at Shirley, as well as one to Richmond in company with Prince Victor Metternich; and then comes an interesting account of an expedition to Meux's famous brewery and the Docks:

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Sept. 7th. Went with Prince Victor and Floret to see the brewery of Messrs. Meux and Reid in Lycopon¹ Street. It is one of the largest in existence. Everything is worked by steam engines, of which there are two, each of 32 horse-power. Besides these there are 110 horses used for transporting the beer about the town; five to six hundred thousand casks are brewed every year. From there we went to inspect the Docks. Those who would gain an idea of the extent of the commerce of this country ought to see this immense establishment, which was erected in 1805. It cost the company 3½ millions. During the war the shares rose to 135 per cent., which indicates the amount of business then done. Now the shares stand at 80 per cent. Vessels from every part of the world, except from the East and West Indies, come into the Thames, which contains several magnificent docks. There they discharge or load their merchandise. As long as they remain there they only pay warehouse dues, but no duty up to a certain time, that is to say until the merchandise is carried away for consumption in the country. The warehouses are vast and most solidly built. The merchandise is kept perfectly dry. There are enormous wine vaults. More than 300 vessels can be accommodated in the docks. After having seen this establishment one can hardly believe that there are two similar ones belonging to the East and West India Companies respectively, that of the former being even larger than the Commercial Docks of London.

The following entry concerning Newgate and Bethlehem Hospital, which Neumann visited a few days later, is of special value as indicating the state of those establishments, from a foreign point of view, during this period.

Sept. 10th. Went to see Newgate Prison, where they incarcerate prisoners of all kinds except debtors. There were twenty-four in one part on whom sentence of death had been passed and who were awaiting what they call the King's pleasure as to the date of their execution. Sometimes some of them obtain a mitigation of the death

¹ The name of this thoroughfare was Liquorpond Street. It was in Clerkenwell, and has disappeared long since. Neumann's attempt at spelling it is phonetically correct enough!

penalty. There were also three boys of from 8 to 10 years of age in the same case, and the sentence in such instances is never carried out, being commuted to deportation.

From here I went to see the new Bedlam or hospital for the insane. This structure, erected by subscription, is the finest thing of the kind in existence. Everything has been thought of here: space, necessities, extraordinary cleanliness, simplicity and hygiene. The whole is built of stone and ironwork. The treatment is most humane, and force is seldom employed. I only saw two men chained, one walking in the garden with the other insane inmates, while one was a raging madman. He had killed a man a year ago. Their food is simple but good. They give them meat three times a day. The Inspector who conducted us round appears to be a favourite with the inmates, each of whom wanted to ask for something, some demanding their liberty, saying they were quite cured. There is here a man named Hatfield¹ who shot at the late King twenty-five years ago at Drury Lane; and also the woman Margaret Nicholson² who tried to stab him while presenting a petition more than thirty years since. She is very old. It is curious to see all these mad people together, each concerned with some monomania, talking to each other, but never quarrelling, though each is full of his own special subject. There was one who imagined the trees, the birds and the animals could talk; another who believed that the crust of the earth was only three inches thick, and that it was dangerous for him to walk on it lest he should break it and be precipitated into the abyss. A woman was under the delusion that she was giving birth to a child every night. I also saw a man named Makenroth, born near Frankfort, the same who wanted to land Bonaparte from the *Bellerophon* six years ago, and who obtained for this purpose a warrant which he has never been able to deliver, the man to whom he should have presented it, Lord Keith, in whose custody Bonaparte was then placed, having (he imagines) disappeared. This Makenroth having committed some crime, his counsel saved him from capital punishment, or at least

¹ Hatfield shot at George III. at Drury Lane on May 15th, 1800

² She died here on May 7th, 1828.

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deportation, by succeeding in passing him off as a madman, and he certainly has the manners of one.

As we were leaving, the Inspector handed us a large book, in which each visitor is invited to write his observations and to make any suggestions, of which use may be made for the improvement and profit of the place, an excellent idea which shows the large-minded way in which it is conducted. It cost £100,000 to build, of which sum Parliament only subscribed £7,000, the rest coming from private donations. Independently of this there is a fund which brings in £12,000 a year, which is sufficient to run the establishment. This fund is also due to private benefactors. One person alone bequeathed £4,000. When one thinks that all the public establishments with hardly a single exception are supported in the same way, how can one withhold one's admiration for a nation whose benevolence is one of its most striking characteristics?

Sept. 12th. The Coroner's inquest into the circumstances attending the death of the man Honey, killed at Cumberland Gate on the day of the Queen's funeral, has returned its verdict. It is to the following effect: 'Manslaughter against the officers and men of the Life Guards who were on duty between Tyburn Turnpike and Park Lane on the day on which Richard Honey was shot, namely, Tuesday the 14th day of August, 1821.' Supposing therefore that the actual person who killed Honey should subsequently be discovered, his punishment would merely be a few days' imprisonment.

Sept. 18th. As the King is shortly going to Hanover, a Council of Regency has been formed to govern the country during his absence. The Duke of York is the head of it and all the Ministers are included, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in all nineteen members, four of whom must always be at hand in London. The King has dismissed General Sir Robert Wilson¹ from his service without any form of trial. It appears that the reason is the part Sir Robert took on the day of the Queen's funeral.

¹ See note on p. 6. His *Diary* was published in 1861.

On September 24th Neumann accompanied Prince Esterhazy to Paris, and incidentally it is interesting to learn that it took $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours to cross from Dover to Calais, and that the whole journey occupied 45 hours, or allowing for stoppages exactly $37\frac{1}{2}$ hours of travelling. He stayed in Paris till December 27th, on which day he set out on his return to London. The motive for this journey was no doubt political, but the entries in the Diary during his stay in France are wholly concerned with social events, sightseeing, and various conversations with such notable people as Prince Talleyrand and Madame de Staél.

Sept. 27th. Visited Princess Metternich, whom I found less changed than I expected. In the evening I witnessed *La Gazza Ladra*, which for the first time for a long while gave me an idea of perfection by the way it was presented. Galli¹ in the role of the father, Pellegrini in that of the Podestà, and Madame Godoc as Ninetta, offered a rare combination of talent. I thought, however, that the latter overdid the lovely air of *Piacer mi balsa cor*, which does not require such emphasis.

Sept. 28th. Dined at the Rocher de Cancale² with Prince Esterhazy, but not well. Thence to the opera, where *La Vieille Caravane* was given and a pretty bad ballet. The new auditorium is exactly like the old one, only the *foyer* is longer and finer; but what struck me most was the sort of company one found there. After London the lack of style, of manners, and of appearance, is particularly noticeable. There is not that air of 'race' and distinction which one meets all over England.

Sept. 29th. Went to the Théâtre Français. Mdlle. Mars acted in *La Fille d'Honneur* and *La Suite d'un Bal Masqué*. What absolute perfection of good taste, of sentiment, and of manner she exhibits. She is over forty, but her voice, her gestures, her figure, are those of twenty; grace carried to such a pitch cannot grow old.³

Sept. 30th. At the Gymnase Dramatique, where they

¹ Filippi Galli, a famous singer, *b.* 1783, *d.* 1853. He was a tenor, but his voice changed and he became a bass.

² This famous restaurant was at No. 78, Rue Montorgueil. It was founded in 1820 and was a favourite resort of Balzac, Dumas, Sue, Gautier, and Béranger.

³ See her portrait, facing p. 188 of this volume.

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gave *La Petite Sœur*, *Le Mariage Enfantin*, and *Le Comédien d'Estampes*. In the last Pertet is inimitable. He plays three different parts, one of them being that of an English-woman, which is the high-water mark of excellence. In the two earlier pieces a little actress named Léontine Fay¹ was equally remarkable for the precocity of her talent.

Oct. 3rd. Dined with the Duc d'Escars,² *Premier Maître d'Hôtel* to the King, and renowned for keeping the best table in Paris. I afterwards went to Neuilly to pay my respects to the Duc and Duchesse D'Orléans and Mademoiselle, who all received me with the greatest kindness.

Oct. 4th. Went to see the Garde Meuble, where the King's jewels are kept. Nothing can exceed the splendour of the Crown. It is valued at 15 millions of francs, the Regent³ diamond which surmounts it being alone said to be worth 12 millions. There is also here a lovely *garniture* of pearls which they value at one million four hundred thousand francs.

In the evening I heard *Othello*, one of Rossini's finest operas, and admirably executed. Madame Pasta⁴ took the part of Desdemona. She is a mezzo-soprano of a remarkable quality, with a great reach in the high register.

A dinner with the Duc de Fernan Nunez, followed by the Opera, where *The Barber of Seville* was given with Pellegrini and Madame Cinti (in place of Madame Fodor) in the caste, is succeeded by a feast with the banker Rothschild in a house 'almost absurdly splendid.' 'It is,' says Neumann, 'the second finest in Paris' (he does not particularise the other), 'and the furnishing alone cost 800,000 francs.'

Among the Diarist's hosts will be recognised many well-known names, and among the plays and operas of which he was a determined patron, many famous ones. Thus one day he dines with

¹ Léontine Volnys, better known as Fay. For an account of her romantic career, see Raikes, vol. 2, pp. 27-8.

² The famous gourmet and friend of Louis XVIII., who died of over-eating, on which occasion one of the French journals announced that 'Yesterday His Majesty was attacked by an indigestion of which the Duc d'Escars died the next day.'

³ Purchased by Thomas Pitt, grandfather of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and sold by him to the Regent for about £135,000. It is sometimes known as the Pitt Diamond.

⁴ Née Giuditta Negri, b. 1798, d. 1865. She was singing from 1819 to 1835 (see pp. 292-3). For a portrait of her see vol. 2, page 88.



MDLLE. LÉONTINE FAY
(MADAME VOLNYS)
From a drawing by G. Grevedon, dated 1829

Pozzo di Borgo¹ who, he says, has a very well-appointed house ; on another he is the guest of the great musician Cherubini,² and goes from his table to witness *Les Moissonneurs* at the Variétés, a piece full of allusions to the glorious period of the French army, followed by *Je fais mes Farces*, in which Poitiers used to be (he sighs) so brilliant. The next day he goes to see the same actor in two pieces at the Porte St. Martin, but 'neither suited him,' says Neumann, 'and he is out of place in this theatre.' On another evening we find him dining with Long Wellesley, where he met Sir Charles Stuart and Fagel³ among other guests ; later passing on to a school of dramatic art in the Rue Chantereine where young artists were wont to rehearse.

The following extracts are interesting for their variety and for, in many instances, the power of criticism concerning things dramatic and musical which the Diarist evinces :

Oct. 15th. Went to the Opera where they performed *Le Rossignol* and the ballet from *Télémaque*. With the exception of the dancing this spectacle is intolerable to those who care for good music ; it is nothing but cries and fearful howlings.

Oct. 16th. Dined with Princess Metternich. All performances were countermanaged, to-day being the anniversary of Marie Antoinette's death.

Oct. 18th. Dined at Neuilly with the Duc d'Orléans. There was an *improvisatoire* there named Pistrani, who improvised in Italian on any subject given him ; one being the origin of painting. This manner of improvising, with an accompaniment of measured and cadenced music, gives an idea of the kind of thing employed by the Greeks in reciting verses, of which it is in fact an imitation.

In the evening the Duchesse de Berry came. One can see at once that she is of an Austrian family⁴ : she shows it not only in her features but in her manners. The Duchesse showed us a very curious collection of miniatures of outstanding people in the time of Louis XIV., among them being portraits of Mesdames de la Vallière and de Montespan. It is a legacy from the Dowager Duchess who has recently died.

¹ The famous Corsican politician, and equerry of Napoleon. See page 280.

² The celebrated Italian composer (1760-1842).

³ See note on p. 6.

⁴ See note on p. 17.

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Oct. 20th. Went with Princess Metternich to see *Camilla*, an opera by Paér,¹ once greatly admired but now long and tedious compared with Rossini's, which possess an *élan* and movement, a youthfulness and freshness of ideas which touch at once the heart and the imagination.

On the following evening Neumann sees Mdlle. Mars in two pieces, *Le Tyran Domestique* and *La Jeune Femme Colère*, and the next day Philippe, an actor remarkable for his gaiety and vivaciousness, in a new piece *Le Concert d'Amateurs*, which was so mediocre that only the art of the actor made it possible. Indeed, hardly a night passes at this time without the Diarist going to some play or other. Many of these are forgotten, and not a few of their actors are but names nowadays ; but Mdlle. Mars will always be remembered, as will Talma² (who once lived in London, and taught Napoleon elocution) ; and on the 29th Neumann saw this great tragedian, who, however, had by now passed his zenith.

Oct. 29th. Went to see *Esther* at the Comédie Française ; Talma and Mdlle. Duchesnoir were acting. If cries, grimaces and exaggerated gesticulations are a necessary adjunct to talent, that of this actress is certainly great. Talma as Ahasuerus has some fine moments ; his voice is his chief merit, but he too often spoils it by a modulation which results in his verses being given without inflection and thus produces a dreary and monotonous effect. They gave a new piece by Etienne,³ called *Les Plaideurs sans Procès*. The first act is bright and full of wit, but the *dénouement* is too obvious ; the two following acts do not afford any new incidents capable of holding one's interest. The play is made by one or two witty situations, and is a biting satire on lawyers and barristers ; with certain alterations it would be a success.

After meeting Talleyrand, the Duchesse de Dino (whose Memoirs are famous) and the Princess Bagratian,⁴ at dinner at Madame Tyszkiewicz's (she was sister to that Prince Joseph Poniatowsky who was killed at Leipsic), Neumann spent the evening at the Flahault's and the following day dined with Princess Metternich, where he

¹ Fernando Paér (1771-1839).

² 1763-1826. He was a friend of Napoleon.

³ A French poet, dramatist and journalist (1778-1845).

⁴ Wife of the Russian Commander Prince Peter Bagratian (1765-1812).

heard some curious stories of miraculous cures concerning which he thus speaks.

Oct. 31st. Prince Louis de Rohan told us about the miracles performed by the Prince Hohenlohe at Wurzburg, of which he himself had been a witness. Without actually believing in them, and without understanding how they were produced, he could not deny their effects. He says he has seen numbers of men, who arrived from the country blind, deaf and permanently lame, who were enabled to see, to hear and to walk. Prince Hohenlohe does not always succeed with his cures, for it appears that he can only heal those whose maladies are produced by nervous disorders, and this is explained by his using animal magnetism. The means of which the Bishop (Prince Hohenlohe is one) makes use is simply a prayer which an old peasant of Baden named Martin taught him. The cure depends on how much belief the patient has in its efficacy. Martin used himself to perform miracles in his native state, the Government of which, however, finally stopped him doing so, and he then handed on his secret to Prince Hohenlohe. The Bavarian Government have also forbidden the Prince to practise his art in public. Those who are most astonished at the results are the Crown Prince of Bavaria himself, who was deaf and can now hear perfectly, and the Princess Mathilde of Schwarzenberg, who had for many years lost the use of her limbs and can now not only walk but dance.

Nov. 1st. Went to see Talma in *Manlius*, one of his best parts, but of a kind I do not care for. One cannot but praise him in it, however. He shouts less than in other pieces. What suits him better than parts in which noble, generous and chivalrous sentiments must be exhibited are those of conspirators and the doers of dark deeds. Altogether Talma possesses one great undisputed merit, and that is the clear forcible way in which he speaks his lines; his declamation is pure, sharp and well punctuated, and consequently original. He is always master of the scene and, in short, his voice makes three-fourths of his success.

Nov. 3rd. Among miraculous events may be noted the accident that happened yesterday to Madame de Stael's

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little son, who fell from a third storey window into the courtyard of the house of Auguste de Stael, with no further damage than the breaking of two of his teeth.

Nov. 6th. Went to the Italian opera to hear *Othello*. Madame Pasta surpassed herself. There is a melancholy timbre in her voice that goes straight to the heart. The whole of the music has a character half soft and half savage which coincides admirably with the temperaments of Desdemona and Othello.

Nov. 8th. Went to the Museum (Louvre) which I had not seen since the objects carried away by Bonaparte from Italy were sent back. There are still many lovely things, particularly among the statues, the collection of which is relatively finer than that of the pictures. I saw, also, a new statue discovered by the Marquis de Rivière, French ambassador at Constantinople. It was a gift from him to the King. It is a masterpiece of the greatest period of the art of sculpture and they regard it as a rival to the Venus de Medici. Although I am no judge I cannot agree with this verdict. They call it the Venus (of Melos). M. de Talleyrand is said to have remarked that the picture gallery was like the French army because it was now nothing but frame-work.

A dinner at the Rocher de Cancale in the Rue Montorgueil, the famous resort of Balzac and his friends, but which in spite of the notable people present, the Duke of Devonshire, the Princes Starhemberg, d'Arenberg,¹ Metternich and De Rohan, Neumann describes as being bad both as to the food and wine, was followed by a visit to the opera where *Les Danaides* by Salieri, 'in the old style of Gluck,' was performed, in which the florid manner, 'of which,' he says, 'the French have an hereditary love,' did not commend itself to the Diarist who, however, admits that the choruses were fine and the whole thing a magnificent spectacle. In the midst of these and other vocal and gastronomic distractions Neumann records a curious incident which happened on the 11th November in the Bois.

Nov. 12th. As the Duc de Bordeaux was walking yesterday in the Bois de Boulogne accompanied by guards, one of the keepers holding a cut branch approached and said he had found a man who had fired a pistol at him, where-

¹ Prince August Arenberg, an Austrian general and diplomatist (1753-1833).

upon his horse reared and he (the keeper) was thrown ; on this the man fled, leaving behind him a gun filled with two charges of shot, and a cap in which he had written ' Servant of General Kellerman.' There were naturally many conjectures as to the meaning of this, but nothing has yet been discovered.

Nov. 13th. The Bois de Boulogne report is nothing more than a hoax invented by the woodman in the hope of a reward. The King remarked *à propos* that one ought to give him a *habit de chasse*.

There follows a number of dinner engagements and, as usual, many visits to the theatres, among those Neumann met at the former, either as hosts or fellow-guests, being such well-known people as Pozzo di Borgo, the Lievens, Madame de Flahault, the de Broglies, Talleyrand and the Duchesse de Dino. As, however, the entries are simply confined to these names, they would prove but monotonous reading were they set down in full. On the 15th he saw the play of *Falkland*, taken from Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, in which he found Talma more lugubrious than ever. On the 25th he is at the Palais Royal, where a *sorée musicale* was given in honour of the Princess of Denmark, while the next day he meets at a dinner given by M. de Greffulhe, M. Molé, ' grandson of the famous President Molé.' Two days later he dined with Talleyrand and found himself seated next to Séquier, the President of the Royal Court, ' he who recently influenced the Chamber of Peers in the sentence pronounced against Muzian, one of the principals in the conspiracy of the month of August who was judged guilty and condemned to death, a sentence afterwards reduced to imprisonment for 5 years...' 'They say,' adds Neumann, ' that the Peers have exceeded their prerogative, which permits them to pass a sentence but not to modify it.'

Nov. 30th. The King (Louis XVIII.) received the address to the throne to-day. There was a phrase in it relative to the maintenance of peace with foreign powers which has annoyed the Ministers. The King replied coldly and no one knows what the result will be. Will both the right and left combine in trying to overthrow the Ministry ?

Last night I went to the Chamber of Deputies. The sight was an effective one. There is a good deal of theatricality, and they sacrifice reality to appearances. The President comes in followed by two ushers in plain dress, and the National Guard of that faction in the Chamber

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beats a drum while he passes. What a contrast to the noble simplicity of the House of Commons in England.

In the evening after dining at Baron Vincent's, Neumann goes to hear music at Madame de Flahault's, and there sees the widow of Marshal Ney, ' who appears to be a very well preserved woman ' It was six years previously that her brave husband had been shot.

The position of the French Ministry was at this moment a very precarious one, and not long afterwards it resigned. On December 3rd Neumann was present at an excited session in the Chamber of Deputies when, after a violent debate, the Right and Left combined in obtaining a majority against the Ministers, as a result of a determined plan to overthrow them. In the meanwhile the Diarist meets the English Ambassador and others at a dinner at Baron Fagel's, which he thus describes :

Dec. 7th. Dined with Baron Fagel to meet the English Ambassador, the Duc d'Escars, Princes de Starhemberg and Louis de Rohan, and Lord Jersey. The dinner was exquisite. The English Ambassador expressed his fears concerning the trend of events in the East : war declared against the Turks by the Persians, the continuance of the massacre of the Greeks, the return of the Ottoman fleet, and the folly of the ultra-royalists here who want to overthrow the Ministry and embroil affairs at a moment when industry and national prosperity are at their highest point, the budget showing a surplus of 34 million francs.

Dec. 10th. Dined with the Duc Dalberg ;¹ whence I went to the Opera where Mdlle. Mara,² a pupil of Coulon, made her *début*. She exhibited more grace than power, but the natural nervousness of a first appearance had much to do with this. I ended my evening at the St. Aulaire's, where I saw Madame de Barante, without exception one of the most beautiful women in Paris. I was told that a commission had been formed to examine the law of censure ; that Messieurs Vaublanc and Lalot were members of it, and General Foy³ the president. After this one can foresee the result of this ministerial *démarche*.

Dec. 13th. To-day I heard that the Ministers had handed

¹ Emmerich Joseph Dalberg, created a Duke by Napoleon in 1810 (1773-1833).

² A noted German soprano (*d.* 1833).

³ He served with distinction in the Peninsular War (1775-1825).

in their resignations and that the King had accepted them. The substitutes named up to the present are M. de Blacas for Foreign Affairs, M. de Villèle for the Interior, M. Corbières for Public Instruction, M. Clermont Tonnèvre for the Navy, M. Pastoret for the Seals, M. Chabrol for Finance, and M. de Belluno¹ (Marshal Victor) for War. Monsieur, the King's brother, appeared to have had a great part in this political revolution. The Ministers had no choice, the last nominations of the Commission for the examination of the censure law and the liberty of the Press left no doubt as to the result, and the Ministers preferred to resign than to be forced to do so by the opinion of the Chamber which had made itself obvious.

There was little talked of in the various *salons* at the moment except the fall of the Ministry, and Neumann realised this at Madame de Boigne's and later on the same evening at the Duchesse de Broglie's, where everyone was depressed in consequence M. de Talleyrand, 'who has not been inactive, said that the new Ministry had more obstacles than actual dangers to encounter.' The Duchess remarked that she was sorry the post occupied by M. de Chesy, who had been charged with opening letters sent through the post,² had been given to someone else, 'as it was like changing one's confessor.' Neumann devotes two long entries in his diary for December 14th and 15th to the settlement of the new Ministry, but the subject would hardly have an interest for readers to-day, as it is mostly confined to the personal objections of the various people nominated, to their suggested offices, or of others to those selected in preference to themselves. Apparently most of those chosen had no experience of the offices which they were to fill, and the Duchesse de Dino remarked *à propos* that they had therefore no prejudices and brought to their task no *spécialité*; while Talleyrand affirmed that 'on M. Mathieu de Montmorency ordering his coachman to drive him to the Office of Foreign Affairs, he was taken to that of Foreign Missions,' an association formed for sending missionaries into the departments to preach and propagate religion and morality, of which M. de Montmorency was one of the leading spirits.

Dec. 17th. The Duc de Richelieu has gone into the country. He is returning to celebrate the wedding of his

¹ Claude Victor-Perrin, Duke of Belluno, one of Napoleon's Marshals. He was War Minister 1821-3 (1764-1841).

² The same charge was brought against our Sir James Graham when Home Secretary

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nephew M. de Rochechouart with Mdlle. Ouvrard, the daughter of a rich contractor. In consequence of the disproportion of birth on one side and wealth on the other they say that M. Ouvrard kindly overlooked the birth. The report is that Adrien de Montmorency is going to London as ambassador. He is the son of that Duc de Laval famous for his 'bulls.' He said, for example, to this very son that he was a fool and that before speaking he ought to hold his tongue. He said of M. Pasquier that he was improvident (*imprévoisait*) : he meant that he extemporised (*improvisait*) very well ; and instead of saying 'I have questioned (*interpellé*) such a person,' he used to say 'J'ai interprété (*interpreted*) tel individu.'

Neumann's stay in Paris was now drawing to a close, and the few days before he left were occupied in paying calls and dining out, among his hosts being Count W^roronzoff, Lady Charlemont, Auguste de Stael, Madame de Montjoye, where he met Mr. Standish¹ with his fiancée, and Rothschild. On December 26th he writes : 'I had a long conversation with Madame de Metternich, who has shown me very particular kindness and confidence during my stay in Paris, as has her son, a most delightful young man. I owe everything to this family, it is to their goodness and protection that I am indebted for all I possess. If it is pleasant to bestow benefits, it is as much so to show gratitude, and through this double duty the link which binds me to this family is indissoluble. It is all the more gratifying because the family is not one which bestows its confidence easily.'

Dec. 27th. I leave Paris to-day for London after a stay of three months. I depart with regret. I have found here many old friends whose sentiments time has not changed. The De la Rue family is among these. Madame Mélanie de Montjoye has given me proofs of true friendship, as have the Finguerlins. On the whole I prefer Paris to London, and could wish nothing better than to be placed in a position here similar to that which I occupy in England. Existence is here less subject to those habits and customs which obtain in England and which are so contrary to ours. Everything breathes gaiety and good taste, and everyone has the sense to amuse himself as much as possible. From a

¹ He married a French lady, Mdlle. Finguerlin, a relation of Madame de Genlis. He died in 1840 and left his vast collection of works of art to Louis Philippe.

political point of view it seems to me that the country contains all the elements conducive to a long prosperity. Seven years of peace have entirely altered the national spirit, which was formerly directed to glory and the desire for fresh conquests. The Government having assumed a non-military character keeps its eyes on internal affairs, and commerce having again become active the nation throws itself in a spirit of confidence into commercial speculation. It is extraordinary what progress industry has made in the time. Agriculture, manufactures, everything, is in a prosperous state, and the agriculturist, blessed with a fruitful soil, can always depend on an adequate income. The greater part of the nation has an absolute need of repose, and everything likely to bring about a change of Government would frighten it, particularly if it caused any change in the right of possession. The Revolution has been entirely confined to national property ; were the question agitated again it might well produce all sorts of evils. There is still lacking backbone in the institutions, and up to now there has not been sufficient energy to give it them, and what indicates the need for repose is that quiet exists in spite of the feebleness of the Government. The institutions of the country are faced by a dilemma : on the one side the Right wishes to regain what it has lost, while the Left would on the contrary like to have a still more republican form of government. The latter will gradually get what they want through an aristocracy which instead of gaining esteem loses it. The subdivision of property is too great, the barrier between the throne and the people consequently too frail. If they are not careful the House of Peers, instead of being the reward of merit and of services rendered to the country, will become nothing but an insignificant institution and in the end as open to ridicule as Bonaparte's senate. The Chamber of Deputies already possesses too much power. Instead of emanating from the House of Peers and only acquiring its influence from this source, it does not pay it the slightest attention. In the long run this is likely to produce serious results and still greater embarrassments for the Government.

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Such are the reflections which Neumann makes after having mixed with politicians of all kinds in Paris, and studied the economic state of the nation which at this time was in a condition of flux, of which he recognises the significance. His return to London was not without its *désagrémens*, as will be seen by the following entries, and contrasts vividly with the way the journey is accomplished nowadays—just a century later.

Dec. 28th. I left Paris by the Mail at 4.45 and arrived at Calais at 11.30, both road and time being bad. Stayed at the Hotel Bourbon. I took the three inside places in the coach, which cost 50 francs 50 centimes each.

Dec. 29th-31st. Here I have been for three mortal days of boredom, the wind being contrary. It is a great exercise of patience and the triumph of reason to be able to resign oneself to such adverse circumstances. I have passed my time in reading Lauzun's memoirs, which have just come out in Paris. Never has anything of so scandalous a nature been published. Most of the great French families and some English ones are compromised, and among others people still living, such as the Marquise de Laval, mother of Mathieu de Montmorency, now Minister for Foreign Affairs; the Princess Czartorynska, wife of Prince Adam, and others. I have also read Madame de Staël's *Ten Years of Exile*,¹ in which are some curious things. But whatever merit a writer may have he ceases to interest directly he begins to talk too much about himself. The persecutions which Bonaparte made her undergo are inexcusable and unworthy of a great mind, but on the other hand Madame de Staël had an ambition and a self-complacency which render her writings often wearisome; and I think she would not have antagonised Bonaparte so much if she had not recognised that by doing so she had an opportunity of getting herself talked about.

In the midst of my dissertation on Madame de Staël they came to tell me that the steamer was ready to leave. I hurried to it and found indeed about 70 people delayed like myself at Calais who were going on board, to the annoyance of the Captains of the other packets, who did not dare set sail, both wind and tide being against them.

¹ This book was published after Madame de Staël's death.

We left the port contending against these two great obstacles, and only overcame them with much difficulty. The crossing took nine hours. I don't remember ever to have suffered more. Lord Lowther¹ and James Morier, a friend of mine, were on board. I slept at Dover.

1822

On the following day, January 1st, 1822, Neumann arrived in London in the evening, and found the contrast between London and Paris 'beyond all expression.' 'Everything here,' he writes, 'is empty; the fog and the smoke obscure the atmosphere, there is a sad and lugubrious air over everything, while in Paris all is gay, with plenty of movement, and one enjoys life thoroughly.' Perfidious Albion was evidently at its old tricks!

The following news concerning the liberty of the Press, which Neumann received through diplomatic channels, is interesting as forestalling what happened eight years later with regard to the same subject and which brought about a change of dynasty

Jan. 7th. French despatches arrived to-day giving the details of the new law relative to newspapers, promulgated by the new Ministry. It is proposed that instead of the censorship four judges of the royal court allocated to this business shall have the power of suppressing a newspaper if it be edited in a way likely to be dangerous to the religion or well-being of the State, and that the King shall have the prerogative of re-establishing the censorship by special ordinance at such times as the Chambers are not sitting. This law is more severe than the one proposed by the old Ministry, but as the Right has every reason to suppose that ministerial severity will be rather directed against royalist papers than against Liberal ones, it is probable that on these grounds alone the Bill will be passed.

Jan. 11th. To-day I received letters from Paris. They are full of the witticisms that are being bandied about the city concerning the new Ministry formed by Monsieur.² For example, the King remarked: 'I am happy to be able to see how things are going on now that I am no more.' M. de Talleyrand on his side affects to believe that Monsieur receives a daily account of his future kingdom; and

¹ Afterwards (1844) 2nd Earl of Lonsdale.

² The King's brother—afterwards Charles X.

Benjamin Constant has said that he realised who was the director of the post-office but that he did not know it was the Duc Doudeauville, who has accepted the post. As usual in France this is the way the most serious matters are treated. Which reminds me of a *mot* uttered by a man who was about to be guillotined during the Revolution. He was named Sanson, and the crowd called out 'Good-bye Sanson.' 'Good-bye *Sans-farine*,' he replied, there being a famine at the time in Paris.

During January Neumann's diary contains short entries concerning a variety of matters ranging from details of the opera to those dealing with French affairs and a summary of the character of Peel, who had just succeeded Lord Sidmouth as Home Secretary. The last is the only one of importance and alone likely to interest the reader, and this passage is therefore given in full

Jan. 17th-18th. Mr. Peel has succeeded Lord Sidmouth as Home Secretary. He had been Secretary for Ireland during Lord Whitworth's Lord Lieutenancy. He is a young man of many accomplishments, clever and learned, a good orator and full of ambition. He has consistently refused second-rate places, knowing very well that they would be obliged to turn to him on account of his oratorical gifts, which will be a great help to the Ministry in the House of Commons where it wants all the support it can get. It is not impossible that one day Mr. Peel will be First Lord of the Treasury. His father possesses a fortune of £50,000 a year through cotton-spinning, of which he was one of the first inventors. He is therefore in every sense of the word a *parvenu*, but with such a fortune one ceases to be this here, and even without wealth one can rise in this country by merit. Canning is a striking example of this. His gifts were so superior that no one but himself could diminish them; but this he did by force of ambition and a restless spirit which caused him to make false moves which have done for him among all parties.

On February 5th the King opened Parliament in person, but Neumann remarks that his manner was not good, and that he did not appear to be at his ease for a moment although he read his Speech very distinctly. At the Levée on the following 8th of the month Mr. Peel was present as well as Mr. Wynn, the new head of

the India Office On the 12th Neumann dined with the Lievens, when the Countess told him that there was a woman in London, he thinks her name was Lady Hensley, who had married three times, but the first husband being alive when she married the second, the marriage with this one was null and void, whilst the marriage with the third was recognised as valid because the first husband was dead when she contracted it; thus it was the second husband who was the victim.

Feb. 14th-15th. Lord Londonderry presented to Parliament his account of the state of the nation, here called home affairs. It appears that one class, the agriculturists, finds itself in imminent embarrassment, while manufacturers are in a most flourishing condition. The country gentlemen, in spite of all the measures taken by the Government to reinforce Grenville's party, appear so little anxious to support the Ministers that the latter, three weeks before the opening of Parliament, foresaw their dismissal, and in order to prepare public opinion issued a pamphlet entitled *The State of the Nation*, giving an exact account of their administration since they had assumed office. This did some good, but nevertheless the Ministers thought seriously of making some economies as the only way of not alienating their adherents. Lord Londonderry's statement seemed completely to satisfy the House. The economies announced by him amount to five millions.

Feb. 21st. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's with M. and Madame de Lieven and a Mr. Banks, a great traveller, who has been recently in Egypt and Spain. He told us among other things that when Sir Henry Wellesley¹ went as Ambassador Extraordinary to compliment the King of Spain, I think it was, at Valencay, on the abdication of Bonaparte and the happy event of his approaching return to his kingdom which would be one of the results, he found the King with Don Carlos and Don Antonio sitting round a large bowl in which there were three fish, each with a feather tickling his fish. They did not get up to receive Sir Henry, and after he had finished his speech to the King, the latter said to his brother Don Carlos. ' You see,

¹ The Hon. Henry Wellesley, youngest son of the 1st Earl of Mornington and brother of the Duke of Wellington. He was created Baron Cowley in 1828.

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my fish swims faster than yours.' The Duke of Wellington told us at the same time that having gone to Ghent to the King of France's in order to meet Madame Angoulême, who had just come from Bordeaux, he found them excited only as to who could have removed the white flag from the Place Vendôme.

March 1st. Dined with Count Lieven. He told us that when Bonaparte sailed to St Helena he arrived under the line at midday on September 23rd at the precise moment of the autumnal equinox, that is to say when the sun entered the equator in such a way that the observations were exactly at zero. Lieven had heard this curious coincidence from Lord Melville, then first Lord of the Admiralty.

March 4th-5th. News from Paris announces several small military insurrections which have broken out at various places following on that of General Berton, who appeared before Saumur with fifty men exhibiting the tricoloured flag and cockade. The General having failed in his design is now wandering among the mountains of La Vendée, disguised as a peasant.

March 18th. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's with Count and Countess Lieven, Prince and Princess Esterhazy, Lady Granville, &c. Mr. Banks, who has travelled in Egypt, told us that before getting there he had seen Bonaparte at Elba, who had given him information about that country. He related a very curious anecdote concerning the Pope's sojourn at Paris. A few days before Bonaparte's coronation, the Pope went to see him with a paper which he asked him to acknowledge and sign. It was a gift by Louis XIV. of all the property at that time claimed by the Papacy. Bonaparte, believing that it was a forgery and being ignorant of any such transaction, went hurriedly into another room in order to consult some book or archive in which mention would be made of it. He actually found that this act had been passed on the very day of Louis XIV.'s death, and he therefore naturally refused to recognise its validity. This anecdote was told to Mr. Banks by Dénon.¹

¹ Dominique Dénon, a French savant and archaeologist, accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt (1747-1825).

The dismissal of Sir Benjamin Bloomfield recounted by Neumann in the following entry is a well-known incident in the domestic life of George IV. Lady Conyngham's rapacity and dislike of Sir Benjamin were gratified through her ascendancy over the King

March 19th-20th. The King has dismissed Sir Benjamin Bloomfield from his post of factotum, solely because the latter was disliked by the favourite, to whom he had made complaints concerning the expenses into which she had led the King, and among others about a diamond which he had given her on the occasion of the Coronation, the said diamond being worth £50,000. They tried to smuggle this sum in among the Coronation expenses, but the accounts sent to the Treasury were not recognised by that department. They appealed to Sir B. Bloomfield who, convinced of the circumstances, got back the accounts and then made the complaint before-mentioned to Lady Conyngham, who kept the diamond all the same after pretending that she was ready to give it up, and succeeded in getting the one man of integrity the King has had about him dismissed.

April 1st. The Duke of York dined with us (at the Embassy). There was much talk of a duel which has just taken place between Sir Alexander Boswell and a Mr. Stuart. The former was killed, and Lord Rosslyn¹ acted as second to Mr. Stuart, who has fled to France to avoid the legal proceedings which mean sentence of death against the delinquent as well as against his second ; Lord Rosslyn has also taken refuge in France.

April 2nd. Mr. Robinson² brought forward a motion in the House with the object of extending the commerce of the British colonies in America, by making it free to all nations. This measure has been made necessary by the commercial liberty which exists to-day with Brazil and Cuba, and which would to a certainty have destroyed that of England in these islands.

April 6th. M. de Chateaubriand³ arrived on Good

¹ James, 2nd Earl (1762-1837).

² Created Viscount Goderich in 1827 and Earl of Ripon in 1833. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1823 and Prime Minister in 1827. b. 1782, d. 1859.

³ The famous French author and statesman (1768-1848) came to England as Ambassador in this year.

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Friday, a happy augury for the author of the *Génie du Christianisme*.

April 10th-11th. The lack of news from Vienna with regard to the latest events at Constantinople creates much uneasiness here. The Ministry finds itself in an embarrassing position. All its calculations are thwarted because no one foresaw the difficulties in which it is involved. It was thought that the Turks would end by giving way, and that it would be necessary to get the Russian Cabinet to promise not to be too exacting concerning the four points demanded by it. After this, war seems inevitable, and although there is some hope still of avoiding it, one cannot depend on it when one has to do with people like the Turks, who are influenced by superstition, pride, and contempt of Christians.

The world is so accustomed to great events that what in former times would have been a cause for astonishment is nowadays passed over in silence. Thus it is that hardly any attention has been paid to four new circumstances, all of which have to do with America. The first is a decree of the Cortes at Lisbon which permits of the Prince Royal remaining in Brazil and accords him a kind of independent government, except the tie which naturally links such a government with that of the mother country through mutual interest. The second is the emancipation of Mexico; the third is the Spanish party in the Island of St. Domingo; and the fourth the recognition, on the part of the United States, of South America and particularly Mexico. This event is one of the highest importance for the United States, which will probably gain commercial advantages as the reward of being the first to take up this attitude.

From such questions of *haute politique* Neumann turns easily, as usual, to the record of social events. On the 16th he had been taken ill, and although not sufficiently well to be at the Drawing Room on the 23rd, he was not to be disappointed of the opera on the evening of that day.

April 23rd. Went to the opera, where Rossini's *Moïse* was given for the first time. It is a travesty of the history of Peter the Hermit. Religion does not allow of sacred

subjects being produced on the stage ; on the other hand they are shown at other spectacles, the ceremony of the Coronation for instance in which bishops and all the clergy and even the attributes of religion, such as the cross, the chalice and even the Bible, are represented. This opera holds together with difficulty, in spite of the beauty of the music, because it is so badly represented. Zucchelli, a bass of the first rank appeared in it for the first time, with success. Paul, the dancer, made a successful *début*, and Albert also danced for the first time.¹

May 2nd. Hegel the courier arrived from Vienna. He brings news that nothing is yet decided on the great question of war or peace. The replies of the Porte had not yet come to hand. He also brought me the small cross of the Order of Leopold, which the Emperor has conferred upon me. Prince Metternich has procured me this distinction, and increased its value by a most flattering and kind letter which he has written me on this occasion.

May 4th-5th. Went to Richmond with Prince Esterhazy, Prince Lobkovics, Count Szechenyi and Count Colloredo, and were overtaken by a storm which drenched us through and through. In the evening I was at Madame Lieven's, where there was a report that Lord Worcester wanted to fight a duel with the Duke of Gloucester because the latter had said that the former had married the half-sister of his deceased wife.² However, the matter was arranged. Last Thursday, the 2nd, the Dukes of Bedford and Buckingham fought a duel because the former had made insulting remarks about the latter at some public meeting. The Duke of Buckingham fired at his adversary but the Duke of Bedford fired in the air, and the matter was arranged by their seconds. Lord Grey remarked that according to English law both of them ought to have had

¹ These were two of those male dancers, often of considerable age, of whom Thackeray made fun.

² This is rather obscure. Lord Worcester married first (July 23rd, 1814) Georgiana, daughter of the Hon. Henry Fitzroy, who died in 1821, and on June 29th, 1822, he married secondly Miss Culling-Smith, daughter of Charles Culling-Smith by Lady Anne Wellesley. They were half-sisters on the mother's side, but Lord Worcester's marriage did not take place till a month or so after this entry. It is quite clear that Neumann wrote 'had married.' Perhaps the Duke said 'he was going to marry.'

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their right hands cut off¹ for having fought on the King's territory, the place of meeting being in Kensington Gardens.

May 13th. Dined with M. de Chateaubriand. Up to now I have not been able to estimate his character accurately. He has a formal air, is little at his ease, and rather surprised that he is not made as much of here as in Paris, where three duchesses were so much in love with him that one died, another went mad, and the third lost her appetite.

May 19th. Went to spend the day at Chislehurst. Ever since I have been in England, and that is eight years, I have not been able to have too much of this beautiful country. On returning in the evening I heard that the Duc de Richelieu² was dead. The Duke of Wellington was so affected by the news that he shed tears.

May 30th. There was a subscription ball at the Opera on behalf of the unfortunate Irish people.³ Three thousand tickets at two guineas each were sold. The sight was a grand and imposing one in consequence of the vast crowd and the quantities of ladies' feathers, which had the appearance of waves gently ruffled by the wind. In itself the ball was dull and monotonous.

The following description of George IV.'s daily life at the Cottage at Windsor confirms what Lady Shelley in her Diary, and others, have recorded of its dull routine.

June 7th. Saw Madame de Lieven who had returned from Windsor. She tells me that the King appears to have decided to pay a visit to Vienna. The way in which the King passes his time is curious. He breakfasts at 10 o'clock with his guests, and they then go and sit in the garden for a couple of hours. About 3 o'clock they go out driving. His Majesty drives with Lady Conyngham, his favourite, in a phaeton. They return to dress for dinner, and afterwards they pass the evening till 12 or 1 o'clock partly dancing or in playing round games, in which the

¹ According to an old law.

² A French politician (1766-1822) and grandson of Marshal Richelieu. He was Prime Minister from 1820-21.

³ The great distress caused by famine.

King joins. The next day they do just the same. It is a fine sort of life for a King, ruler of so powerful an empire. His Majesty troubles himself little about anything, and hardly at all over business. He passes seven-eighths of his time with his favourite.

I went to spend the day at Chislehurst. The weather was perfect. In the evening I took a drive in my tilbury. The country about here is full of charming variety ; the cross roads give one the idea of being part of a park, indeed the whole country has the appearance of a vast park ; they may well call Kent the 'Garden of England.'

George IV.'s projected visit to Vienna seemed to be about to be realised when suddenly it was, without any obvious reason, put off, as indicated in the two following entries :

June 14th. Ball at the Palace. The heat was too great to allow of its being very animated. Before going there I received news from Vienna through the courier Renard of the most reassuring character, based on the hope of the maintenance of peace in the East. Prince Esterhazy having informed the King of this, His Majesty came up to me and said that he was delighted, and believed that he would now be able to realise his wish to go to Vienna.

June 19th. Everything had been prepared for the King's visit when His Majesty suddenly declared that he had no intention of making the journey, and that he would not go to the Continent this year at all.

June 30th. Dined at Richmond with Count Lieven, who appeared very troubled at the latest news from Constantinople, where they have slaughtered the hostages from the Isle of Scio.¹

The unsettled state of Spain at this time is reflected in several entries that occur in the diary. They are for the most part short, but are pregnant with meaning.

July 15th. The counter-revolution in Spain seems to be growing. The King's Guards at Madrid have openly declared against the constitutional régime.

July 16th. Bad news from Spain, the revolutionary

¹ This terrible massacre of the Greeks by the Turks was the subject of one of Delacroix's famous pictures painted in 1824 and now in the Louvre.

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party is victorious, the Guards have been expelled from Madrid, and the King is in the hands of the Jacobin faction.

July 22nd. A courier who has arrived from Spain brings news that the King has thrown himself into the arms of the revolutionary party and that his brothers have assumed the militia uniform. After this victory the faction has shown more moderation than was expected. It has prosecuted no one, probably because there is such a vast number implicated in the counter-revolutionary plot, including the King himself.

Two social events which occurred at this time are thus chronicled by Neumann. The Lord Hertford mentioned was the 3rd Marquess, who succeeded to the title in this year and whose relations with the King had been strained through the latter's infatuation for Lady Hertford.

July 26th. When the present Lord Hertford returned to the King the Order of the Garter belonging to his deceased father, who was Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire, His Majesty said he was sorry not to be able to give this post to him as he had already promised it to Lord Warwick ; on which Lord Hertford replied that he did not remember having asked for it, a reply which recalls the days of the feudal barons. Lord Hertford possesses a fortune of a hundred thousand a year, returns nine members to Parliament, and is consequently a person of great importance whom it behoves the Government to cultivate.

July 27th. A scandalous affair is being talked about everywhere. The Hon. Percy Jocelyn, brother of Lord Roden, and Bishop of Clogher in Ireland, was found in a room in an inn with a guardsman and convicted of an offence. They were both taken to Bow Street police court amid the imprecations of the crowd. The magistrate, either through a sentiment of humanity or in order to avoid the scandal of a prosecution of such a character, let the Bishop out on bail in £1,000. Naturally the latter fled to France to avoid the trial which would otherwise have taken place. They say that another bishop has been found under equally equivocal circumstances.

A few entries for August intervene before that which records the departure of George IV. for Scotland on the 10th and the more detailed account of Lord Londonderry's suicide two days later, then we read on the 31st of July that news had been received of the Greeks having destroyed three vessels of the Turkish fleet, that the commander of these vessels had been mortally wounded and the remainder of the squadron dispersed. Such important happenings are interrupted with records of a visit to the Coburg Theatre, 'the finest house in London,' an excursion to see Sundridge Park,¹ belonging to a Mr. Scott who during the war had made a fortune of £50,000 by speculations in grain, and by a fête given by the Duke of Wellington in honour of the Duke of York, who appeared 'in a little frock coat and carrying an umbrella.'

Aug. 6th. The King prorogued Parliament in person. The ceremony is carried out partly in French, which dates from the Conquest. M. de Chateaubriand, who was with me, remarked that it was a souvenir of both servitude and antiquity.

Aug. 10th. I went to see the King embark at Greenwich for Scotland. He wore naval uniform. The scene was an exceedingly fine one. This home of naval veterans is splendid and imposing. The terrace in front was filled with people, and the sight was most effective, especially when one remembers that all the old sailors who were drawn up in line represent a mass of historic memories about which one could make a fascinating history if one troubled to look up all the data.

It was, of course, this visit of George IV.'s to his northern kingdom which so fired the imagination of Sir Walter Scott who, after drinking His Majesty's health, swore that the glass from which he had done so should be for ever preserved as an heirloom in his family, and putting it in his pocket forgot all about it, sat down on it, and shivered it to atoms.²

Aug. 12th. On returning to London I heard news which absolutely overwhelmed me—the sudden death of the Marquess of Londonderry. Later I learnt that he had destroyed himself. Last Friday he had an audience of two hours with the King, when he had talked so wildly that

¹ At Bromley, in Kent. The owner was Sir Claude Scott, 1st Baronet, having been so created on September 8th, 1821.

² See Thackeray's account of the incident in the *Roundabout Papers*.

after he had gone His Majesty sent for Lord Liverpool to tell him about it. The King foresaw the tragedy and told Lord Liverpool that in the midst of his derangement Londonderry had shown such a determined spirit that he (the King) feared the consequences. After this interview Lord Londonderry had conferences with the Russian Ambassador and the Prussian Minister, and then talked quite reasonably on all sorts of subjects, but would not enter into business. He said, however, to the latter that he was overwhelmed with work from the last Session, and that his head was thoroughly perplexed. That evening he went into the country. The Duke of Wellington, who had recognised his condition, wrote to his doctor to warn him. The latter went to see him on Saturday morning and prescribed some slight sedatives before his departure. Thus during Saturday and Sunday he appeared to be in no state to arouse undue apprehension. But his doctor observed during such conversation as he had with him that his mind was wandering and that he was labouring under some vague trouble. He remarked among other things, 'How can you expect me to go to Vienna and to exhibit myself to Europe and be present at a congress of sovereigns in the state I am ?' Notwithstanding these warnings his doctor did not watch him carefully enough to prevent the fatal deed. It should have been sufficiently suggestive that he asked Lady Londonderry for the key of his pistol case. The latter slept with him in the same bed as usual. On Monday towards 9 o'clock after she had risen and dressed, he also got up, went into his dressing room, asked the maid who was there to call his doctor, and while she was doing so severed his carotid artery with a small penknife from his writing case. When the doctor came in he found him still standing. 'Come quickly, support me,' he murmured, 'all is over,' and as a matter of fact the doctor had only time to catch him before he expired.

The more one knew of Lord Londonderry the less can one understand what could have led him to commit such an act. Of all men he was the last from whom one would have expected anything of the kind. There is some mystery about this which perhaps Time will explain ; but

whatever it was it must have been something very serious to have led to such an act. His loss is a particularly sad one for his friends, as well as a public calamity. Having twice been *chargé d'affaires*, each time for six months, I had many opportunities of coming into contact with him. His charming, amiable and easy manners made anything to do with him most pleasant. The kindnesses he invariably showed me will cause me always to regret his loss.

The law of the land requires, in the event of the least doubt as to the cause of a death, that a coroner's inquest should be held. This accordingly took place. The only witnesses called were Lady Londonderry's maid and the doctor. Their testimony as to the state of mind in which the deceased had been during the three days preceding his death were so clear that it was not necessary to examine anyone else, and the verdict was that he committed suicide in a fit of mental derangement. Several people who had met him in the street on Friday, the day on which he first showed signs of brain trouble, noticed several things he did which surprised them, but never made them suspect the reason.

The loss of Lord Londonderry is a great, perhaps an irreparable, one not only for England but abroad. He was the leader of his party in the House of Commons, and it will not be easy to replace him in a post that requires long experience, great tact, equability, and the regard of all parties. He had succeeded this year more than ever in earning the esteem and admiration of the whole country by the triumphant manner in which he had carried out his task in Parliament.¹

Aug. 20th. Went to Lord Londonderry's funeral in Westminster Abbey. I cannot remember to have taken part in a sadder ceremony. The whole of the Diplomatic Corps, all the Ministers, the relatives and friends of the deceased seemed overwhelmed by a common sense of personal grief. Lord Clanwilliam² appeared to feel it most, however, and everyone could see how deep was his emotion

¹ See Greville's account and character of Lord Londonderry, *Diary*, vol. I.

² The 3rd Earl, who was for a time Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador in Berlin from 1823-8.

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and what difficulty he had in mastering it. The nephew of the deceased, son of the new Marquess¹ and thus now Lord Castlereagh, was the chief mourner. A fortnight ago had anyone dared to suggest such a close to so brilliant a career he would have been regarded as mad himself. Such is fate. The Duke of Wellington, who has so often faced death, appeared overwhelmed with sorrow. It is known that he will succeed Lord Londonderry at Vienna.

A stay at Shirley,² where he was always a welcome guest, with the Maberleys, afforded Neumann a needed change after the loss which he obviously felt so deeply. While there he made an excursion with his hosts to Fonthill, the famous seat of that great collector William Beckford, taking Salisbury Cathedral on the way.

Aug. 29th. We came to Fonthill³ by a beautiful part of the park, along which runs a magnificent lake. The house is in the form of an abbey. One cannot imagine more lavish magnificence than is exhibited in this gothic building. It is sufficient to say that its construction cost over a million. The lovely things which it contains are past computation. As Mr. Beckford has lost much of his fortune he has determined to sell these, and as he never allowed anyone before to see his house everyone now crowds to view it, notwithstanding that a guinea for two persons is charged for seeing the objects exposed for sale. We left for Warminster, where we had the greatest difficulty in obtaining rooms.

After visiting Fonthill, Neumann and the Maberleys went to see Longleat on August 30th, returning on the following day to Shirley, by way of Speenham and Windsor. On getting back to London a few days later he hears of the illness of the Duke of Wellington, who had been prevented by a severe cold from dining with Count Lieven, where Neumann was to have met him :

Sept. 6th. The Duke of Wellington has been much worse than was generally supposed. He had a violent ear-ache, for which the aurist Stevenson introduced into the ear such

¹ The 3rd Marquess, half-brother of the deceased.

² At Carshalton.

³ This wonderful place, erected by William Beckford, the author of *Vathek*, possessed a tower 280 feet high, which eventually, owing to a defect in the foundations, fell and ruined the whole structure.

a strong caustic as to set up inflammation of the cerebral membrane, which might have reached the brain. The Duke was in great danger for one night, but is now better. The King awaits his recovery to see and consult with him as to the successor in the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Sept. 7th. The Duke of Wellington is not so well again to-day. His illness has so weakened him that he will not be able to set out for Vienna, where he goes in place of Lord Londonderry, for ten or twelve days. All eyes are now on Mr. Canning as likely to fill the post of Foreign Secretary. The chances are at the moment in his favour.

Sept. 9th. The expected decision of the King as to the nomination to the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs has been made in favour of Mr. Canning, and a messenger has been sent to him with the offer of the post. He is expected in town to-morrow. As the offer has been made in the King's name in terms which prove that it is rather a matter of necessity than choice, it is considered likely that Mr. Canning will be offended. The Duke of Wellington, whom I saw to-day, is much better.

Sept. 12th-13th. Mr. Canning arrived yesterday evening, but did not come to an agreement with the Ministry till to-day, the 13th, when he accepted the post of Foreign Secretary. The offer was made him by Lord Liverpool, on behalf of the King, in so grudging a way as to indicate that he was admitted to the royal counsels by way of a favour. It required all the Duke of Wellington's persuasions to decide him to accept it under such circumstances.

It was George IV.'s personal dislike to Canning which made the difficulty and not in any way that of the Premier, for Greville remarks that 'Lord Liverpool's proposal to him was simple and unelogged with conditions—the Foreign Office and the lead in the House of Commons ;' but that 'the King's repugnance to his coming into office was extreme, and it required all the efforts of his Ministers to surmount it ' The most persuasive of them all was Lord Bathurst, and the King told Lady Conyngham that his arguments weighed with him more than those of any of the other Ministers.

Having taken leave of the Count and Countess Lieven, who left for Vienna on September 20th and concerning whom he writes that 'the friendship and confidence they have always shown me are not

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the least flattering things with which I have met in the course of my life,' Neumann left London on the 24th for a tour in the west of England, and the following entries give details of his experiences.

Sept. 24th. Left for Longleat with M. de Marcellus, the French *chargé d'affaires*, and Paul Lieven. Two miles from the house (Longleat) our carriage broke down and we were obliged to walk the remainder of the way in a heavy storm of rain. On our arrival we found Lady Bath¹ very ill, suffering from inflammation of the liver, which cast a shadow over the family. Lady Charlotte Greville² and her husband were the only other guests.

Sept. 26th. Went with Marcellus and Paul Lieven to see Fonthill again, which struck me less than on my former visit. When one has once admired all the lovely things with which the place is filled, one is soon conscious of their uselessness. The pictures, however, pleased me more than they did when I first saw them, among others which particularly struck me being the famous Gerard Dou, and a smiling child by Leonardo da Vinci. Lady Bath was better to-day. In the evening we rode to Shearwater.

Sept. 27th. Left Longleat for Bath, where we met Count Colloredo, and then pushed on to Bristol, a fine commercial city having the advantage of a magnificent canal joining the Severn, which here falls into the sea. Thence we went to Chepstow in Wales. The tide being too low our carriage could not be brought across till the next day.

Sept. 28th. At Chepstow we visited the old castle on the banks of the Wye, a ruin famous for its picturesqueness and romance. We went to see a well-known spot called Windcliff, whence a celebrated view is obtainable: from it one can see the mouth of the Severn and that of the Wye, which here join each other. From there we went to Tintern Abbey, a very well-preserved ruin where there is an ancient gothic church. Charles I. ordered the roof to be removed³ when he encamped here with his army. Nothing can be more effective than the situation of this ivy-clad church.

¹ She had been the Hon Isabella Byng, and married Lord Weymouth, afterwards 2nd Marquess of Bath, in 1794.

² See note on p. 2.

³ No doubt for the lead to be used as bullets.

It is five miles from Chepstow, and we walked there and back by an indifferent path, but one made delightful by the lovely views one gets over the winding Wye. At 4 o'clock we left for Raglan, a ruined castle, but famous for the spirited resistance it made against the Parliamentary forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax. The Marquess of Worcester, its owner, then an old man of 83, held it for the King. The unfortunate Charles I. was here at various times. In the days of its glory this castle must have been one of the finest of its kind. It occupies $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and is so strongly built that it was necessary to use gunpowder to separate the stones, which were only held together by mortar. After the Restoration this castle, with all the vast surrounding property belonging to it which had been confiscated, was restored to Lord Worcester's son, who was then created Duke of Beaufort. This family has always been one of the most loyal adherents of the Crown. This evening we slept at Monmouth.

Sept. 29th. Left Monmouth for Ross. The road between these places is really lovely. The Wye winds along between high hills, sometimes having a savage and sometimes a smiling aspect. We arrived in good time at Cheltenham, where the Elliots, with whom I was to stay, received us with open arms.

Oct. 1st. Left Cheltenham by stage-coach for Standish Hall with Paul Lieven; Colloredo and Charles Elliot accompanied us as far as Birmingham, where I stayed the night.

Oct. 2nd. Paul Lieven and I arrived at Standish Hall, where we found nobody. The whole family had gone to Lord Sefton's, but as they were expected the next day we awaited them.

Oct. 8th. Returned from Standish Hall, where I spent several days very agreeably with the Standishes, Madame de Finguerlin and her two daughters. I came back by a district in Staffordshire where they manufacture pottery. The whole country is indeed covered with factories, most of them being in the little village of Burslem.¹ There are also many coal mines, and the famous Staffordshire canal

¹ There were 38,000 inhabitants in 1901.

which joins the London and Bridgewater canal at Liverpool, covering a distance of two hundred miles. There are railroads from all these mines and factories for the transport of the coal and pottery to the canal. Indeed the whole country is one vast workshop which labours without cessation in the bowels of the earth as well as on its surface. At night the country has a volcanic appearance in consequence of the great number of furnaces spread over an immense area and always in activity. Steam is the motive power of all this richness, which no other county yet possesses and could not soon equal, for it is the result of centuries of industry.

Oct. 9th. Slept at Birmingham and returned the following day by stage-coach. I covered 112 miles in less than fourteen hours ; the whole costing only thirty shillings.

Back in London, Neumann resumed his usual active round of dining out and theatre-going, at least these are the chief things he records, although from what we know of him it is obvious that at the Austrian Embassy he was kept much at work during the day. Among the following entries will be found an interesting reference to Canova and also to the Diarist's first experience of stag-hunting.

Oct. 14th. Went to the Haymarket to see a comedy called *She Stoops to Conquer*, remarkable rather for Liston's acting than for the play itself, which is very ordinary.

Oct. 15th. Sir Henry Wellesley called to-day to tell me that he had been appointed Ambassador to our Court (the Austrian). This will be a great acquisition.

Oct. 18th. Dined with Lady Harrowby to go to Covent Garden in order to see a very silly farce called *Fontainebleau*,¹ in which bad taste and indifferent style were the predominant features.

Oct. 29th. Canova the great sculptor has recently died at Venice (Oct. 13th). He was a native of Possagno, a little village in Venetia. The child of poor and obscure parents, he exhibited his talent for sculpture at a very early age, and when but 14 he made two baskets of fruit (his first work) which are now in the Farsetti² palace at

¹ By John O'Keefe.

² It was the home of the Academy of Art, where Canova received his earliest artistic training.

Venice. Sir William Hamilton having discovered his talent, helped him to perfect himself, and Canova found in him the support which had at first been refused him by the Venetian Ambassador at Rome himself, and which the latter only gave him on finding his genius encouraged by a stranger. When Canova was thirty-six he completed his group of Venus and Adonis, now in the Berio Palace at Naples. It is regarded as his masterpiece.

Nov. 6th. Went to Panshanger, Lord Cowper's, where I found the Granvilles, Wilmot and the Lambs. It is a very fine house.

Nov. 12th. The Funds have fallen considerably in consequence of an article in the *Journal des Débats* of the 9th discussing the Spanish situation, and the obligation which it imposes on France to make war in the event of the King or the Princes being in danger of losing their lives.

Nov. 19th. Took part for the first time in a stag-hunt at Lord Derby's. It is a very violent exercise and even a dangerous one. The run occupied $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours and we covered about 20 miles. The strength and intelligence of the horses is remarkable, one must see it to believe it.

Dinners with Lady Harrowby, Mr. Baillie, Baron Fagel and Mr. Canning, where he met the new Persian Ambassador, Mirza Mohammed Saleh and Sir John Malcolm,¹ 'who has made two journeys to India by overland route,' are recorded in the interval between November 19th and the 29th, on the evening of which latter day Neumann went to the play :

Nov. 29th. Went to see a new actress, Miss Kelly, in *Romeo and Juliet*. She has great intensity and passion, and if her appearance were equal to her powers she would be lauded to the skies. But when she is excited she becomes positively ugly ; her voice lacks the charm which might otherwise overcome her personal drawbacks, and, when she forces it, it becomes harsh. Perhaps if one did not remember Miss O'Neill so well one might find Miss Kelly incomparable. The actual Juliet could not have expressed the tenderness of her passion better than did Miss O'Neill, nor could Shakespeare's lovely lines have been more truly felt or rendered.

¹ He was Governor of Bombay from 1827-30, and died three years later.

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Notwithstanding 'the danger' apprehended by Neumann in stag-hunting it was not long before he was again ready to risk it, and on December 3rd we read that he 'hunted the stag and had a fairly good run.' He was, as before, staying at Shirley when he did so, and the following day he returns to town where he hears increasing rumours of the likelihood of war between France and Spain; sees Canning and has 'a very interesting conversation with him'; and dines with, among others, the Maberleys in Bedford Square. On December 30th he records that M. de Chateaubriand has succeeded M. de Montmorency as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and that circumstances have arisen which are more than ever likely to provoke war between France and Spain. He finishes the year by staying at Shirley, which had become almost like a second home to him.

SECTION III

THE DIARY FROM JANUARY 1823 TO DECEMBER 1826

Jan. 9th. Had a long conversation with Madame de Lieven (the Lievens had returned to England on the 4th) regarding her stay at Vienna. She touched on her relations with the Duke of Wellington and with Prince Metternich and the Emperor Alexander ; the differences between the two premiers, the indiscretion of Lord Stewart, who betrayed to Wellington what Metternich had said in confidence against him ; the generous conduct of the Emperor Alexander with regard to Metternich, to whom he said, ‘ Do you know what they say of me ? ’ ‘ No, Sir.’ ‘ That you have me in your pocket ; and I am quite content to be there ; ’ the jealousy and hate of the Russians against Prince Metternich, &c.

Jan. 10th. Prince Esterhazy had a long conversation with me in which he exhibited his sterling qualities. He told me that he felt the necessity of my being in closer contact with him ; that I was wrong to keep apart sometimes ; that although he often felt it might be his fault because he had often neglected me, that I held a commanding position in the world here, and that his, on the other hand, became weakened when I kept away from him, but that acting together we could be of great use to one another, and that I was too intimate with the Lievens. I told Prince Esterhazy that I asked for nothing better than to attach myself to him ; that if I had not hitherto done so it was because he had often neglected me, and that it was characteristic of me not to push myself forward. He told me that it was his intention to be on good terms with the Lievens ; that he had a regard for the Count but less for the Countess, whose restless and busy mind did not

appeal to him at all. My position between the two Embassies has always been a very delicate one, especially during the last three or four years. Intimate with that of Russia, I have found myself made the *confidant* of the grievances of each Embassy, and although in virtue of my position I have often been able to soften the annoyances of both, I have succeeded less than was desirable, because their susceptibilities were mutually wounded.

Following on this intimate talk, Neumann, as we shall see, has another of his heart-to-heart gossips with Madame de Lieven, whose passion for diplomatic intrigue is well known to readers of other diaries dealing with this period. The two camps had met in the meantime, amicably enough to all appearances, at Mr. Canning's, where they dined together (Neumann being of the party) on the evening of the same day (January 10th), as 'Mr. Canning appears anxious to stand well with the *corps diplomatique* and goes out of his way for this purpose.' On the following evening Neumann dines with the Lievens in company with Lord Francis Conyngham, the new Under-Secretary of State, and the next day has a talk with the Countess.

Jan. 13th. Long conversation with Madame de Lieven about Canning, whom she accuses of inconsistency. She told me that last year the King wished to see me, and that I had been sent for, but that I had gone on that very day to Longleat. I was not aware of this fact. The King wished to see me with regard to a message with which I had been charged by Prince Metternich and which I had given to Lord Francis Conyngham. This message, which concerned the King's projected journey to Vienna, had met with His Majesty's approbation, and he wanted to tell me so personally.

The incident noted in the following entry was nearly having serious diplomatic consequences, as we shall see, and together with the strained relations between France and Spain, occupies the chief part of Neumann's diary for some weeks to come, a kind of see-saw between the two being kept up.

Jan. 14th. Prince Esterhazy was accosted on the 12th instant between Coventry Street and Piccadilly by a man named Bettera, an adventurer and a native of Ragusa, once employed by Prince Paul's father in connection with a family matter, on the strength of which he claims the



PRINCESS LIEVEN

(*née* DOROTHEA CHRISTOPHOVOWNA BENKENDORF)

b. 1784, *d* 1857

From a drawing by Sir Thomas Lawrence

right to receive a pension. He has bothered Prince Paul several times over this matter, and has at various times been helped by him although he has no real claim on him whatever. On the present occasion he actually threatened to shoot him. The Prince informed the Foreign Office of the man's threats, and has simply demanded the protection of the English law, usual in such circumstances.

Jan. 16th. The Government has to-day received news from Madrid announcing the attitude taken up by Count de la Garde with regard to the Spanish ministry. In the meanwhile a party of the Spanish constitutional army has just violated French territory in order to cut the throats of certain wounded royalists who had taken shelter in a house. The French Government does not seem inclined to pass over this hostile incident in silence.

Saw Madame de Lieven who asked me if I was satisfied with the relations in which she stood with Prince Esterhazy; as a matter of fact he has become as friendly with her as formerly.¹

I had a long conversation with Prince Esterhazy on the state of affairs. He foresaw all the danger of a war between France and Spain, less with regard to the difficulty of the latter being vanquished than through the moral and political complications likely to arise from it. The revolutionary spirit might easily be re-awakened in France and bring about fresh disasters. Even in Spain it would not be easy to maintain order in what was sought to be established, at least if it was not perfectly in accord with the wise majority of ideas and governed by the force of circumstances. It is a fearful dilemma. The King, absolute, without any guarantees against his abuse of power, might easily produce the fear of all sorts of vengeances which would soon create a revolution more terrible even than that against which they wish to fight. A constitutional *régime*, based on the French charter which is already adumbrated, would be more desirable, relatively, than even that which is far from perfect, and would establish a solidarity not less dangerous to the rest of Europe.

¹ See previous entries (pp. 109, 110). Neumann had probably given hints to both parties.

Jan. 20th. The Paris newspapers of the 18th have arrived. They print the reply of the Spanish Government to the despatches of the four Great Powers. Those made to the northern Courts are haughty and strongly-worded. The language used to France is more moderate, but at the same time it contests the right of that country to interfere with the domestic affairs of Spain. The embassies of the other three Governments have asked for their passports. The French Ambassador has not yet taken any action.

Jan. 21st. Arrival of the courier Lipscher from Paris, without any information from Baron Vincent relative to the recent events in Madrid. The evening paper, *The Courier*, contains a curious article concerning the commercial treaty between England and Spain, which accords very great advantages to the former country. It opens to her all the European and American ports and recognises a debt of 40 millions of reals inscribed on the *grand livre* (Register of the National Debt) at Madrid. It is true that Spain may not be able to do all she promises, but the principle is established, and England will be able to exercise her right when it suits her.

Jan. 22nd. The French Ambassador at Madrid appears to have been recalled. The question of war will, however, not be decided until after the opening of the Chamber in Paris. It is desired first to take the opinion of that assembly. M. de Villele¹ insists at least openly on the maintenance of peace. Portugal is occupied in concluding an alliance with Spain which would free this country (England) from the necessity of according the former the protection promised her.

Mr. Vansittart retires and Mr. Robinson succeeds him as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Huskisson fills the latter's place.

Madame de Lieven, with whom I had a talk, tells me that they ought to replace the King of Spain on the throne as he was before the revolution, that is to say, as an absolute monarch. On observing to her that it would be difficult for France, which has representative government,

¹ Louis XVIII.'s speech on his death-bed to M. de Villele is recorded by Raikes, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 255.

to agree to such a measure without its being the first step to the annulling of the Charter, she replied that it would not matter much if this did happen. Four months ago she would have accused of madness anyone who suggested such a thing.

Jan. 26th. Left with Prince Esterhazy for Strathfieldsaye to stay with the Duke of Wellington, in three degrees of frost and snow a foot deep, which is rare and regarded as a calamity in this country. We found there Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot, Lord Westmorland, the Lievens, and others. The Duke showed Prince Esterhazy some letters he had received from M. Moreno, a Spanish liberal of moderate opinions, and General Alava,¹ a most ardent patriot. The Duke properly replied to them by indicating the necessity of avoiding a war with France, of modifying their constitution, and above all on not relying on any assistance from England.

Jan. 27th. Returned from Strathfieldsaye. Prince Esterhazy, who on the 23rd had written to Mr. Canning to complain of the insult received from the man Bettera, received from Mr. Canning a note simply containing a letter which Bettera had written to him full of the most absurd lies and the most insulting threats against the person of Prince Esterhazy, which has naturally greatly annoyed the latter.

Jan. 28th. Went to the Foreign Office and had a long conversation with M. Planta about this Bettera affair. I was not a little astonished at the objections which he made known to me of the lawyers as to the reason of their repugnance from proceeding in the matter, the pretext being that there is no Act of Parliament which deals with such a case, that dating from Queen Anne's time having to do solely with the question of debts; while Blackstone and all the English legists admit the right of anyone to be protected by the English law when they have proved their case (as the Prince has done). He promised to place the affair in the hands of the law officers of the Crown, and to

¹ The Spanish soldier and politician, who fought under Wellington during the Peninsular War. b 1771, d 1843 He became Ambassador in London in 1834.

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follow it up vigorously. I informed him of the extraordinary procedure adopted by Mr. Canning in forwarding Bettera's letter and of the still more singular note that accompanied it. Planta appeared very embarrassed at this.

Jan. 29th. The speech delivered by the King of France yesterday at the opening of the Chamber arrived here to-day. It is really more a proclamation of war than a speech. It announces that 100,000 men are marching to save Spain from disaster; that they will be under the command of the Duc d'Angoulême;¹ that the French Ambassador has been recalled from Madrid; and that the war will not cease until King Ferdinand² is free, and able to give his subjects the institutions which they can obtain from no one but him.

Jan. 31st. Mr. Canning is furious at the King's speech and does not attempt to hide his annoyance. It is a curious circumstance that the English Ambassador at Paris was not present at the opening of the Chamber, while the Britannic Envoy in Spain was at the sitting of the Cortes where the allied notes and the Spanish Government's replies to them were read.

That the hope of avoiding war at the last moment was present, at least in Madrid, is indicated by a further entry in the Diary, wherein Neumann writes that it is hoped that by giving liberty to King Ferdinand VII. in order that he may act with the Cortes so as to afford the institution a more monarchical air, matters will be arranged. As is known, this peaceful solution of affairs did not materialise, the French invading Spain and suppressing the Revolution of 1820, and confirming Ferdinand in his absolutist policy.

Feb. 4th. Parliament was opened to-day by Commission, the King not having sufficiently recovered from the severe attack of gout from which he has been suffering, to be present. The Speech on this occasion dealt with the differences existing between France and Spain, qualified under the term 'irritations,' and of the efforts made by this country to preserve peace. Lord Liverpool made a statement explaining the King's Speech, in which he

¹ Eldest son of Charles X. (1775-1844).

² Ferdinand VII. See note, page 1.

remarked that there was no reason to believe that the Spanish Government wished to extend its institutions to other countries ; that the conduct of those who directed the policy of that country was moderate ; and that the progress of the revolution, however defective might be its basis, was less associated with crimes of violence than any revolution brought about on this earth ; that he feared more for France than for Spain the consequences of aggression against the latter ; that in the circumstances the attitude of this country (England) was that of neutrality ; but that circumstances might arise making war inevitable and even necessary. That England would remain faithful to the engagements with her allies—unless her safety and dignity should be threatened ; and that the country was prepared for any eventuality likely to arise.

The Speech is memorable in that it gives the point of view of the English Cabinet, which finds the progress of the Spanish Revolution admirable and seems to forget that it was the beginning of those of Naples and Piedmont, and that the Spanish Minister at Naples, M. d'Onis, *openly* took an active part in the revolution there. News from Madrid of January 26th conveys the news that a body of royalists 7,000 strong had been within three leagues of Madrid to demand the person of the King from the Cortes, which had refused to surrender him.

On February 12th Neumann goes to the House of Commons with the hope of hearing Canning questioned on the subject. He found the House sympathetic to the idea of war, although the Cabinet was not altogether at one on the subject, Lord Liverpool and Canning both being regarded as having taken too pronounced an attitude. After noting that he had sent a short and sharp note to Planta with regard to the delay in settling the Bettera matter, the Diarist records a long conversation he had had with Prince Esterhazy on the subject of the impending war between France and Spain. Much of this traversed old ground, but on the assumption that France would be victorious Prince Esterhazy foresaw complications of a serious character, one being the desire to establish a too great preponderance of power which would result from the union of France with Spain and Russia—‘ the moving spirit in this enterprise,’ he calls that country, another probable result being a long occupation of Spain by France, which would not be permitted by England, whose troops, allied with those of Portugal and com-

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manded by Wellington, would stop her progress while the Revolution would triumph.

The sympathy of this country with Spain is evidenced by Neumann's record that when the Duc de San Lorenzo, the Spanish Ambassador to France, arrived in England, his horses were taken out of his carriage, which was dragged by a great crowd to the Spanish Embassy; the mob afterwards going on to break the windows of the French Embassy at 54 Portland Place.

On February 21st the Diarist was at the House to hear Mr. Robinson make his Budget Speech. There was a surplus of seven millions, five of which went to reduce the National Debt, and two for the reduction of assessed taxes.

Feb. 24th. The man Bettera who insulted Prince Esterhazy six weeks ago was to-day arrested after all kinds of difficulties. The form of law is here such that it offers no protection to an ambassador; it guards his belongings but not his person. This is one of those anomalies of which there are thousands in the laws of England, where together with the finest institutions are to be found the most absurd things. But what is most annoying is that English lawyers do not seem to recognise what is admitted by the most barbarous nations, *i.e.* the inviolability of ambassadors.

Feb. 27th. There has for a long time been a difference of opinion in the Cabinet with regard to the English Government's attitude to current affairs. One party is all for vigorous action, the other for moderate measures. The latter has prevailed. Mr. Canning was among the former, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel among the latter.

Feb. 28th. The text of M. de Chateaubriand's speech on the question of war, delivered on the 25th, has been received here to-day. It deals very cleverly with the right of interference in establishing the rule and the exception. But the quotations made from the English despatches in order to prove the right of an army of observation in the Pyrenees will annoy the British Ministry, which will be interpellated on these extracts and will probably be forced to lay on the table the documents from which they are taken.

That this prophecy was a sound one will be seen by the following passage:

March 1st. Mr. Canning has been questioned by Mr. Brougham concerning the passages in M. de Chateau-

briand's speech having reference to this country. Mr. Canning replied that they ought to be read in connection with all the documents from which they were extracted, and that the moment for producing these was not yet opportune, since all hope of preserving peace (feeble, in truth, as it is) was not over.

March 2nd. News from Madrid announces that on February 19th the Government, wishing to force the King to leave the capital for Cadiz or Badajos, was dismissed by His Majesty ; that a mob to the number of some two hundred, excited by the revolutionary party, had rushed to the castle and menaced the King's life which was only preserved by the soldiers ; that the King had, as a result, to revoke his decree regarding the dismissal of his Ministers.

Among the entries in the Diary for March 1823 will be found an interesting passage relative to Canning, some further information about the imminence of hostilities between France and Spain, and the close of the Bettera incident.

March 6th. Marcellus gave a ball to which all London was invited, and there Mr. Canning put questions and made remarks to him in public, concerning M. de Chateaubriand's speech, which were so ill-judged that even his friends were embarrassed by them and had to excuse him on very singular grounds : Mr. Canning had that day, they said, been at a dinner given to the Russian Company, and had taken too much wine : a fact which in any other country would have been regarded as strange enough in a Minister, but in this one is not regarded in that light, which makes one think that good taste is subordinate to custom instead of *vice versa*.

March 9th. Dined with Lord Westmorland. There were present Lord Melville, Lord Harrowby, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Robinson, the Duke of Dorset, Count Lieven, Prince Esterhazy, Lord Morley, Lord Granville, M. Planta, Marcellus, &c. It seems that the hope of avoiding war is not wholly abandoned in the event of a change of government in Madrid which would introduce modifications into the Constitution. France has, for the moment, suspended military operations in consequence, and it would appear would not be sorry to have a good pretext for not fighting.

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March 12th. Through commercial channels comes the news that the King of Spain has changed his Ministers, but that the new ones are worse than the old.

March 14th. The news of the change of the Spanish Ministry is confirmed, but the Cortes should have forced the King to keep the old ones. After this, war is inevitable.

March 15th. The man Bettera, after having been twelve days in prison, has been released on bail of £200 furnished by two merchants, and £200 by himself. Prince Esterhazy lodged a complaint, and the Ministers were unable to excuse Sir Richard Birnie, the magistrate, who has throughout the affair acted with as much animosity as bad faith.

March 17th. News has been received that the Duc d'Angoulême has left to join the army. Lord Fitzroy Somerset writes from Madrid on the 5th instant that it is still hoped that matters may be so arranged as to prevent war. What is certain is that France would hail the slightest concession which might enable her to withdraw honourably from an affair on which she has embarked half-heartedly.

March 22nd. Count Buol,¹ appointed to the position of second secretary to the Embassy here, has arrived from Paris. During the last week two old admirals have died : Lord St. Vincent² and Lord Keith,³ as well as the famous General Dumouriez,⁴ aged 84.

March 25th. Dined at Lord Hertford's, with Lords Gwydyr, Clanwilliam, &c. News from Madrid has been received. The King was due to leave on the 20th although suffering from gout. There is also news from Portugal, where a counter-revolution, headed by Count d'Amarante and M. de Souza, late Minister in London, has broken out.

March 27th. The French army has received orders to enter Spain between April 1st and 3rd at the latest. The revolutionaries are doing everything possible to spread

¹ Karl von Buol (1797-1865). He was Austrian Prime Minister from 1852-9.

² The famous admiral (1734-1823).

³ Sir George Keith Elphinstone, created a peer in 1814. He was b. 1746.

⁴ The famous French soldier. Born in 1739, he died at Turville Park, Henley-on-Thames, on March 14th, 1823.

their propaganda amid the army of the Pyrenees. Several officers and others who had gone there for this purpose have been discovered and arrested.

During April the chief events recorded are those concerning the war between France and Spain ; a scene in the House between Brougham and Canning on the question of Catholic Emancipation ; and a long entry with regard to Ireland, that ever-fruitful subject of discussion and discord. There are a few entries noting dinner engagements with Lord Hertford and the Duke of Wellington, and a passage regarding the King's attitude at a levée, which indicates that His Majesty's feelings with regard to France and Spain were not in accord with those of his Ministers.

April 10th. To-day we sent the courier Zanoni to Vienna with the English Cabinet's declaration embodying the policy it intends following with regard to France and Spain. It announces an attitude of strict neutrality, and only admits three contingencies which would cause it to depart from this position : (1) A more than temporary occupation of Spain, or the imposing of a system incompatible with the dignity of her crown or which might affect existing relations with other powers ; (2) Any attempt against Portugal ; (3) The taking of any Spanish Colonies. Lord Fitzroy Somerset arrived yesterday, and said that the French army is in very good condition and well placed ; on the other hand that of constitutional Spain is badly organised ; that he saw hardly any troops between Bayonne and Madrid ; that the French will have little difficulty in reaching the capital, but that there obstacles will begin, less through the resistance which will be put up than by the nature of the country and the peculiar character of the Spaniards.

April 11th. *The Times* of to-day gives the news of the entry of the French army into Spain by way of St. Jean de Luz. One hundred and fifty French rebels appeared and harangued the royalist troops, who replied by artillery fire and killed half a dozen of them.

April 14th. The Ministers placed before Parliament the documents relating to their attitude towards France and Spain. Mr. Canning accompanied them by a long explanatory speech, in which he blamed the King of France's

speech and the conduct of M. de Chateaubriand in very round terms. Charged with proclaiming the principles of a strict neutrality which his Government have established, he explained the duties attaching to this, which should have prevented him from passing any criticisms on either of the belligerents. Instead of that he exhibited all his ill-humour against France and ended his speech by wishing success to the revolutionary cause in Spain. He hoped by this double dealing to flatter the party here which has declared itself against French interference with Spanish affairs, to the detriment of what by his position he owes to the Continental powers, whom he has thus irritated without at the same time succeeding in his object of winning the approval of the Opposition, which sees through his manœuvre.

April 17th. There was a violent scene in the House of Commons to-day between Mr. Brougham and Mr. Canning regarding the Catholic question. The former reproached the latter with having sacrificed the Catholics in his desire to enter the Government. He used some very strong language, and Mr. Canning stopped him in the middle of his speech to accuse him of falsehood. This led to an uproar, and it was only with great difficulty that these two gentlemen were persuaded to withdraw their expressions, Mr. Canning being obliged to apologise to the House for having failed in respect to it. He has lost much ground by his lack of restraint and has been punished more than he expected by his flouting of the Opposition, which displayed all its rancour and hate against him.

April 19th. The Duke of Wellington took me to the Opera, and told me that the French would not meet with any kind of opposition ; that were it not so 100,000 men would not suffice to conquer Spain ; that the country was a most difficult one, and that a formidable army would be necessary to take possession of its hills alone ; that Bonaparte had employed half a million men ; that he (Wellington) had taken 3,000 pieces of cannon during the course of the war and three complete siege trains ; that nothing was easier than the defence of this country, and that he believed that if the French extended their lines of operation as far

as Seville, 100,000 men would not suffice if they were obliged to leave any of them behind to cover their communications, and that that depended on whether guerilla warfare would be employed or not.

April 21st. There was a Levée held by the King to-day. His Majesty talked to me for five minutes, and told me that he had not changed although many things had—an allusion to the curious conduct of his Ministers. He did not speak to the Duc de San Lorenzo, who was presented to him, nor to any other Spaniards, while he held conversations with everyone else, including the French *chargé d'affaires*.

April 22nd. The great question occupying Parliament just now is that of Ireland, which has taken on a complexion which was quite unexpected. Last year there was a disturbance in the theatre at Dublin, at the end of which they insulted the Lord Lieutenant by hurling at him a bottle and a rattle, neither of which however luckily touched him. It was the act of the supporters of the Protestant party, which was furious against the Marquess Wellesley on account of the protection he had afforded the Catholics. The Advocate-General, Plunket,¹ prosecuted the criminals on the grounds of conspiracy, the Grand Jury threw out the bill, and the Advocate-General then had recourse to his discretionary powers. He was accused of having overstepped his authority, and he on his part accused the foreman of the Grand Jury of having influenced it to reject the bill. Sir Francis Burdett² has presented a motion asking that the foreman shall be brought to the Bar of the House in order that he may be examined. The Advocate-General on his side wishes to prosecute him in the Court of King's Bench. This was also the desire of the Government, who wanted to avoid the revelations concerning the administration of Ireland generally, which would result from an examination by the House of Commons. The majority were against Ministers. The latter find themselves in a most extraordinary dilemma with

¹ 1st Lord Plunket, a noted Irish politician and lawyer (1765-1854).

² Having published a speech denying the right of the House of Commons to imprison delinquents, he was sent to the Tower in 1810 (1770-1844).

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regard to the Catholic question in that country, some of them supporting and others opposing it. The result is that the Catholics, who form the larger part of the population of the country and who are the principal authors of the troubles which constantly afflict it, have no hope or very little of finding their wrongs redressed ; while the Cabinet is divided on the subject. This system of reciprocal paralysis among Ministers is certainly an evil which offers little consolation for the Catholics, who can only find a remedy in time which gradually softens and diminishes the prejudices existing against them. When these prejudices have disappeared the Government will have to take some definite steps. Has the moment arrived or not ? The present enquiry should answer that question.

April 23rd. The King was to have held a Drawing Room, but has been suddenly laid up with the gout. There was a great dinner at Mr. Canning's on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday, which actually occurred on August the 12th but which is always celebrated to-day, Parliament generally being prorogued about the actual day and everyone then being away from London.

Neumann, as we see, speaks in the following passage of troubles in the Cabinet and the likelihood of Canning's retirement ; but as a matter of fact he remained Secretary of Foreign Affairs till 1827, when he became Prime Minister. Threatened men live long.

April 29th. There are grave dissensions in the Cabinet. At one moment there was even a question of Mr. Canning retiring. He certainly cannot remain unless he alters his conduct.

April 30th. A debate in the House of Commons on the question of Spain and France, the object of which was to censure the Ministers for not having employed firmer language to the latter country. The debate lasted three days and Mr. Canning made on this occasion a most eloquent speech. Although his conduct is in many respects reprehensible one cannot but admire the extraordinary talent he has displayed. The motion was withdrawn and the Ministry and Opposition all voted, with the exception of twenty, for the amendment.

May 11th. The affairs in Spain continue to go favourably for the French. The Duc d'Angoulême counts on being in Madrid on the 25th. It is there probably that the great question will be decided—at least it will then have reached its first stage, and before embarking on the second, which would be long, difficult and costly for France both in men and money, she will try some means of accommodation which will probably be prompted by England.

During the remainder of the month Neumann's entries are chiefly concerned with social engagements. On a single evening he was present at parties at Mrs. Hope's, Lady Salisbury's, Prince Leopold's and Mrs. Beaumont's, but he expresses himself as being bored at all of them, which is his only comment, while at dinner at the Duke of York's he found the entertainment too long and the wines bad. One day he has a conversation with Madame de Lieven—or rather listens to a monologue from that political busybody, during which she complained of most things, from a letter written to Prince Metternich by the Duke of Wellington to the conduct of the latter generally.

The Abisbal referred to in the following passage was Henry Joseph O'Donnell, who was born in 1769 and died in 1834. He was a Spanish general of Irish extraction, who was created Count of Abisbal, and who distinguished himself during the first French invasion of Spain in 1809, but was compelled to fly to France in consequence of the second one this year.

May 26th. News has arrived that Abisbal, who has declared himself independent, has proclaimed that the existing state of affairs is incompatible with the sentiments of the majority of the Spanish nation, which desires a more moderate representative Government; and he has sent his proposals to this effect to Seville. His move, although apparently concerted with the Duc d'Angoulême, nevertheless preserves an appearance of spontaneity. This event has greatly disconcerted everybody here, beginning with the Ministers, who had banked on the success of the Spaniards against the attempts of the French.

May 28th. News has arrived of the entry of the French into Madrid on the 23rd, and of the Duc d'Angoulême on the 24th.

May 29th. Went to Epsom, which was very pleasant this year. The weather was fine and there was a large

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crowd. Emilius, a horse owned by Mr. Udny, won the Derby against Lord Lowther's Tancred.

June 4th. The King has been ill lately, but is better. These frequent relapses will one day prove fatal, and unless he improves before the autumn he may easily die before the end of the year.

The general sympathy shown in this country for the Spaniards is reflected in various entries for this month, others contain information as to the progress of the French in Spain. The famous Wellington Shield referred to was that designed by Flaxman and offered to the Duke by the City. The termination of the Bettera affair is noticed, not unnaturally with much annoyance and a criticism of our laws on the part of the Diarist.

June 8th. The week has produced nothing noteworthy except a meeting announced in aid of subscriptions for the Spaniards. The celebrated Hunt¹ presided and the subscriptions produced two sovereigns and a few shillings! There is to be another on the 12th. News from Madrid of the 31st May announces that a secret session of the Cortes held at Seville proposed to send the King to the Canary Islands, but there was a majority of eight against this, with the result that twenty of the more violent members were removed. The French troops are to march on Seville and are due there on the 15th. The Regency established by the Duc de l'Infantado is now at work. An address to the Duc d'Angoulême, signed by the best part of the Spanish nobility, has produced a good effect. Everything points to a quick and favourable issue.

June 11th. News has been received that the French are marching on Seville with 15,000 men. It appears that the principle of not making an arrangement with the Revolution has prevailed, and that the desire is to catch and destroy the faction as soon as possible.

June 12th. There is a question of sending the King (George IV.) to Carlsbad, which proves that the resources of science as a means of re-establishing his health have been exhausted.

June 13th. There has been a meeting presided over by Lord W. Bentinck for the purpose of interesting the

¹ The notorious Mr. H. Hunt, as Raikes calls him; once M.P. for Preston.

English nation in the cause of the Spanish revolutionaries. Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Brougham made violent speeches against the sovereigns, and the subscriptions amounted to five thousand pounds.

June 19th. Dined with the Duke of Wellington and saw there the shield which the City of London has presented to him. It is a copy of that of Achilles so far as general effect is concerned, but the boss represents the Duke on horseback surrounded by his companions in arms, Marshal Beresford and others. The central relief stands out prominently and is in full-face; those of the sides represent various feats of arms and battles fought by the Duke. Rundell and Bridge, the well-known jewellers, have produced in this way a masterpiece which is practically the shield of Achilles after the designs of Flaxman, who has scrupulously followed the description of it left by Homer.

June 20th. Went with Mr. Baillie to see the fine collection of antique bronzes belonging to Mr. Payne Knight,¹ one of England's most famous antiquaries, and therefore one of Europe's. He possesses, too, a very valuable collection of old coins and precious stones and cameos, as well as some beautiful pictures, among others a Correggio.

June 24th. The papers report a fearful crime. A son killed his father yesterday by shooting him with a pistol, and blew his own brains out afterwards. They are people named Griffiths, and the reason for the act was that the son, whose bad habits had alienated the affection of his father, wanted to force the latter to give him money. The jury brought in a verdict of premeditated murder and *felo-de-se* against the son, with the result that his body will be buried at four cross-roads.

June 25th. Mr. Ward, attached to Sir W. à Court's mission, arrived to-day. He confirms the news of the Portuguese counter-revolution. He came from Seville, which he left on the 14th, the day on which the King was carried to Cadiz by force, the Cortes having declared him to be incapable of reigning and having set up a Regency.

¹ He lived in Soho Square and was a Trustee of the British Museum, to which he left his collection of drawings. He wrote much on archaeological subjects (1750-1824).

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Sir W. à Court, the English Minister, declared that he was accredited to the person of the King and not to a Regency, and declared that he would not follow to Cadiz, to which the Council of Regency replied that when he arrived at Cadiz the King would be declared to be in full possession of his faculties. The English Minister, as well as those of Holland, America, and Sweden, had the good sense nevertheless to refuse to recognise proceedings which sufficiently proved what few doubted, that the King had not liberty of action.

June 27th. The affair of Prince Esterhazy against Bettera was heard yesterday, when it was decided that the grounds on which the latter was kept in prison not being sufficiently proved, he was released. That is to say then that an ambassador is suffered in this country to be insulted without having the means of obtaining satisfaction, his position not permitting him to appear before a court of justice; and the lawyers claim that it is not legal to depart from the forms recognised by the laws of the country; overlooking apparently the laws of nations and the right of individuals.

During the remainder of the year the entries in the Diary are somewhat meagre and disjointed. On the 3rd of July Neumann goes to Richmond with a party of two hundred to a *fête* given by Lord Hertford for the Duke of York; on the 9th he dines with the Maberleys at Shirley and hears a young lady of nine, the daughter of Madame Schanroth, play so marvellously on the piano that he regards her as a prodigy; and on the 10th he visits the exhibition of pictures at Somerset House, where he says that with the exception of some of Sir Thomas Lawrence's portraits the remainder are a scandal to art, in which judgment no doubt Haydon would have agreed—without the exception. On the 11th he writes these words: 'The most unhappy day for me, of which there is no need to set down the circumstances in this journal, because it will be for ever engraved on my memory, and will have a permanent influence on my destiny.' What this was is not clear, but that there was a lady in the case is, from what one knows of the Diarist's character, fairly evident. So affected was he that not till the following August 1st does he resume his entries, and then in this sad strain—one that continues at intervals for some time onwards.

Aug. 1st. I have not had the courage to continue this diary. The event of July 11th has deprived me of all

taste for doing anything. The only friend in whom I could confide, Colloredo, has left to-day and I find myself without any consolation.

Aug. 8th. The Prince (Esterhazy) left to-day for the Continent. We have talked much of our future and of the project of going to Paris. I certainly shall not be able to remain here. The disgust I feel for this country increases day by day.

Sept. 25th. This diary languishes and will have little further interest, I fear. If this should be the case I shall stop it. Objects and events pass before my eyes without leaving any impression. Everything for me is now coloured by indifference. My existence is for the time being withered ; perhaps one day this will pass, but at present I find difficulty even in doing my work.

However, after a time he begins to dine out again and to take a mild interest in Spanish politics, a notice of which occurs on October 14th, when we read : 'News has been received of a decree of the King of Spain, dated from Porte St. Marie on October 1st, annulling everything that has been done from March 7th, 1820, to September 27th, 1823 ;' and two days later, 'Second decree of the King of Spain from Xeres dated October 4th, ordering everyone who served under the revolutionary government to remove himself 5 leagues from any place by which the King might have occasion to pass and to 15 leagues from the Capital whenever the King should be residing there.' Neumann does not fail to note the bad effect produced by these decrees. Entries of visits to Panshanger and Hayes, and of dinners with the Lievens, the Antrobuses, and with Lord Mansfield at Kenwood, 'a charming village only four miles from London,' occur ; but there is a rather spiritless air about them, much in the vein of the entry for September 25th quoted above. One realises that not yet was the wound inflicted on July 11th healed.

Three entries which may be given close the year. The first recalls a famous crime.

Nov. 4th. A fearful murder has taken place at Stamford. A man named Weare has been killed by three ruffians named Thurtell, Hunt and Probert. The details resemble in point of cruelty those revealed in the trial of Fualdes. It appears that the criminals had the intention of murdering twelve or fifteen people, and to this end had rented a house situated on the river at London.

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Dec. 10th. I have had an accident. My horse fell and I was thrown over his head and sprained my knee. Obliged to ride twelve miles after this, my knee had time to become very inflamed and swollen.

Dec. 31st. I end this year in the same state as I have been since July 11th. All the interest of my life is concentrated on the event by which that day is marked, and nothing holds any more enjoyment for me.

At this point there is a gap in the Diary till July 15th in the following year. But the entry on that day shows that a great change had come over Neumann's feelings and had changed the sentiment set down on August 8th to its exact opposite. There he wrote, 'The disgust I feel for this country increases day by day,' and remarks that he certainly will not be able to remain here. This is what he confides in his journal eleven months later.

1824

July 15th. Prince Esterhazy arrived. He told me that it was arranged that I should join him in Paris next year. *The idea of leaving this country overwhelms me. All the interest of my life is centred here.*

July 29th. Received an invitation to stay with the King at Windsor. The Lievens, Lord and Lady Cowper, Lord Lauderdale, Prince Esterhazy, Schonburg and Prince Leopold were there. I remained two days. His Majesty treated me with great kindness. Made an expedition on the lake called Virginia Water with the King and all his guests. It is unusual to find the ruler of a vast empire passing his time amidst the charms of private society where all idea of grandeur is forgotten.

Aug. 12th. An important matter has been confided to my care.¹ The reconciliation between Brazil and Portugal has been the cause of a lively debate to-day, and seems to be nearing completion.

Sept. 17th. News has been received of the death of the King of France, who expired yesterday at 4.30 in the morning. This event which a few years ago might have had the most disastrous consequences is to-day hardly noticed.

¹ This may refer to his journey to Brazil—see later.

Sept. 18th-22nd. Went to Doncaster for the races with Prince Esterhazy. Over £100,000 has been laid in bets. A young man, Mr. Payne,¹ lost £26,000. This meeting is a notable one ; the wealth of Yorkshire, where it takes place, results in its being patronised by all the rich land-owners round about.

We have already seen that Prince Esterhazy was rather suspicious of Madame de Lieven's political influence on Neumann, and it may have been an altered attitude on his part towards that lady that caused her to spread the rumour indicated in the following passage :

Sept. 27th. My friend Villa Real has warned me to be on my guard against Madame de Lieven, who had told him that she believed I was a Liberal. Of all suspicions this is the last I should have expected, for here I am regarded as a Royalist out and out. I have been so unfortunate as to displease this lady, and I can see that she is seeking to revenge herself.

Dec. 31st. No great events have happened to me this year. The interest of my life is centred in a single circumstance which causes me to find everything else insipid, otherwise I should not have neglected to set down in this journal many things of interest, if I had had the energy to regard them as such.

1825

During the year 1825 Neumann neglected to keep a Diary, there being but one general entry for that year under the date of December. — ‘Having once given up the habit of keeping this journal, he writes, ‘I have come altogether to neglecting it.’ Notwithstanding this, he confesses that ‘little interest though it may have, it has at the same time often helped to jog my memory, which has always been a bad one for dates.’ The single entry in question is, as will be seen, wholly concerned with the question of Prince Esterhazy’s transference as Ambassador from London to Paris, a step adumbrated in a passage in the diary on August 8th, 1823. This is what Neumann has to say concerning it :

¹ George Payne, a noted gambler. He was shot in a duel in 1837. See Raikes, vol. 3, p. 205. See, too, Creevey’s reference to his Doncaster losses.

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Dec. 31st. This year has ended in a curious way as far as our internal situation¹ is concerned. Prince Esterhazy, nominated as Ambassador to Paris since June 1824 after having greatly desired this post, has become all at once disgusted at the idea of it and has continued to prolong his stay here beyond all reason. All my representations in the matter have been useless. At the very moment that he assured me that he had asked for an audience in order to take formal leave he had come to an understanding with the King and Count Münster with a view to taking measures with Vienna in order to obtain permission to remain. This move clashed with a peremptory order from Prince Metternich that he should assume his new *rôle* without delay; but Prince Esterhazy would not submit until I had beseeched him not to put off asking for an audience any longer. This he did much against the grain, concealing from me the measures he had taken with Vienna. Also instead of leaving directly he had delivered his letters of recall, he continued to remain here awaiting a reply from Vienna, which suited his purpose all the more as the King the very day he had given him an audience instructed Mr. Canning to make a similar appeal. Prince Victor Metternich was charged to carry to the King a letter from the Emperor and one from Prince Metternich, his father, announcing the continuation of Prince Esterhazy in his post here. Nevertheless troubles ensued from this, for which he will long repent.

1826

There is for January but one long entry in the diary, wholly concerned with the death of the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I., who was born in 1777 and succeeded his father Paul in 1801. This far-seeing monarch encouraged the spread of education and of western civilization in his dominions. In 1805 he joined the coalition against Napoleon, but two years later was obliged to sign the Treaty of Tilsit. He was the leader of the coalition against France from 1813 to the downfall of Napoleon, and as one of the Allied Sovereigns visited this country in 1814. Having married Princess Louisa Maria of Baden, he died on December 1st, 1825, and was succeeded by his younger brother Nicholas, the elder Constantine

¹ i.e. the affairs of the Austrian Embassy.

having renounced his rights to the throne on January 26th, 1822. The first wife of the latter was the Princess Juliana of Saxe-Coburg whom he divorced, and in 1820 he married a Polish lady, Countess Johanna Grudzinska, a fact which probably had no little to do with his renunciation of the succession. How great a blow Neumann considered the death of Alexander is evidenced by the following passage :

Jan. 1826. The year 1825 closed with a most unexpected and at the same time, so far as Europe is concerned, a most unfortunate event—the death of the Emperor Alexander, which took place on December 1st at Taganrog,¹ a town on the Sea of Azoff where he had gone with the Empress whose indifferent health required a mild climate. She improved, but the Emperor, healthy and strong to all appearances, died at the age of forty-eight after a reign of twenty-five years, during which he had doubled the moral and physical power of his Empire, which he had advanced by at least a century. His Majesty left no children, and the throne passed to the Grand Duke Nicholas after a three weeks' struggle of generosity between him and his elder brother Constantine, who had in 1822 abdicated his rights to the succession. The day on which the resolution of the Grand Duke Constantine to persist in his renunciation and the accession of his brother Nicholas were made known in St. Petersburg, that is to say on December 25th, a military insurrection broke out in favour of Constantine, it being affirmed that he had been forcibly excluded from the throne. Four companies of the Moscow infantry assembled in front of the Senate House in the Place d'Isaac. Crowds of people joined the mutineers crying 'Long live Constantine and the Constitution!' The soldiers thought Constitution was the name of Constantine's wife! However the appearance of the Emperor Nicholas was able to calm them, and the courage he exhibited on this occasion saved Russia and Europe from a great calamity. It was only after trying for three hours to bring these misguided ones to reason that he saw the necessity of training guns on the rebels who had been joined by the marines. In dispersing,

¹ During the Crimean War it was bombarded by the French and English, June 3rd, 1855.

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two hundred men took refuge in the house of M. Laval, a Frenchman who had married a rich Russian heiress, and whose two daughters were the wives of Count de Lebzeltern, the Austrian Minister, and Prince Troubetzkoy respectively. Pursued into the house, which was taken by assault, the rebels surrendered and documents were then discovered proving that a conspiracy existed having its ramifications spread through all the different regiments and of which Prince Troubetzkoy was one of the ring-leaders. He, who had never been suspected of such a thing, took refuge in the house of M. de Lebzeltern, who was absolutely ignorant of his brother-in-law's culpability until Count Nesselrode¹ arrived at 2 o'clock in the morning to arrest him in the name of the Emperor. The traitor asserted up to the last moment that he had taken no part in the conspiracy ; until, indeed, the Emperor showed him the documents which had been seized in Laval's house, when he was no longer able to deny the fact. The scheme of the conspirators was to assassinate the whole of the Imperial family at the grave of the Emperor Alexander on the day of his burial in St. Petersburg ; but thinking a favourable moment, and one when the minds of the soldiers could be easily deceived, had arrived, they anticipated the day. The plan was to march to the Senate on the supposition that the Senators would be in session ; to force them to sign a document proclaiming the new order of things ; to invade the Imperial palace, and to assassinate the whole of the royal family ; to proclaim a republic with consuls, based on the forms of the ancient Roman one. This conspiracy had been going on for three years with the aid of secret societies ; and what is most remarkable and terrifying is that in spite of the great number of people implicated there was not among them a single traitor to the cause. We knew that it existed and we had warned the Emperor Alexander, who was not wholly incredulous, whereas his Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode, regarded us as dreamers. It seems certain that the Emperor Alexander was aware of the extent of the conspiracy, for

¹ Count Karl Nesselrode was born in 1780 and died in 1862. He practically directed the foreign policy of Russia from 1813-1856.

among his papers at Taganrog were found the names (certainly without any comment) of all the officers who were subsequently arrested. Many great families find themselves compromised, and there is a certain amount of inquietude regarding the other Russian armies in which the ramifications of this plot have been discovered. The Emperor Nicholas exhibits great energy. He has appointed a military commission to carry out the trial of the guilty. He wishes to give the greatest publicity to the affair and to punish promptly. All that is awaited is news from the Southern army in which those thought culpable have been arrested. It is said that Mesdames de Laval, Troubetzkoy and Lebzeltern had copied out the plan of the new constitution. What an awful position for M. Lebzeltern, who has served his country with so much glory and honour.

There follow for February and March a few entries of interest, the first being a rather dreary picture of the state of this country from a commercial point of view; another records the serious illness of George IV., while the last is connected with the death of the King and Queen of the Sandwich Isles, which occurred in September 1824 at Osborne's Hotel, John Street, Adelphi. The King, whose name was Rhio-Rhio, was the son and successor of Tamehameha, who placed his kingdom under British protection. The Lord Byron mentioned in this connection was a cousin of the poet and an admiral. he died in 1868. He had succeeded as 7th Baron in 1824

Feb. 20th. The commercial affairs of England after the excellent condition in which they were last year, have suddenly undergone a remarkable change. The greatest distress has followed on the greatest prosperity. The cause of it is the mad speculation of the public in foreign loans, American mines, companies formed for the development of the interior of that country, and immense purchases made by business men following on the relaxing of duties on many articles of merchandise. The warehouses are crammed and it will take some time before things can right themselves.

Feb. 24th. Madame de L(ieven) tells me that information has been received from Berlin that the St. Petersburg conspirators used to meet at Madame de Lebzeltern's. A

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man named Kiechelbeker, who appears to be one of them, has been arrested in Warsaw. He was disguised as a Russian peasant. A Colonel Boulatof, who was all the time at the side of the Emperor on the Place d'Isaac with the intention of assassinating him, has just died in prison. He confessed his intention to the Emperor Nicholas and said he was only restrained by the calm attitude he saw the latter take up during the three hours he was trying to bring the troops to a sense of their duty.

March 4th. When the Emperor Alexander visited the Bank of England in 1814 he remarked to Mr. Mellish how little gold there appeared to be. 'Foreign subsidies, Sir,' replied the latter.

March 16th. The King of England has been dangerously ill. He was seized on the 13th with an inflammation which was only reduced by copious bleeding.

March 17th. News has been received that the King of Portugal (John VI.) is at the last extremity, and has named a Regency at the head of which is his daughter Donna Isabella Maria.¹

March 18th. The frigate *La Blonde*, commanded by Lord Byron, returning from the Sandwich Islands, whither it had conveyed the bodies of the King and Queen who had died a year and a half ago in London, met in the Bay of Biscay a vessel in distress whose crew, ordinarily composed of 17, had been reduced to 6, the rest having died of hunger and exposure. The half-dozen survivors were kept alive for 22 days by eating the bodies of their dead companions. The wife of one of the dead sailors drank his blood and ate his heart directly he expired.²

March 24th. We received information by the courier Nipper that our Emperor had been attacked by congestion of the lungs, and that during the 13th he was in great danger. On that night he received the Sacrament, but the next morning a profuse perspiration broke out which relieved him.

¹ Not to be confounded with Maria da Glória, the grand-daughter of John VI., who (her father Pedro IV. having abdicated in 1826) became Queen of Portugal. On the 20th Neumann notes the death of King John VI., which actually took place on the 10th March.

² This refers to the shipwreck of the *Medusa*.

March 26th. Heard from Vienna on the 17th that the Emperor was out of danger.¹ Providence has been very good, for the loss of so beloved a sovereign would have had incalculable results. It is a curious coincidence that on the day on which the life of the King of England was in danger (between the 13th and 14th) everyone was in fear for that of our august monarch.

The journey of the Duke of Wellington to Russia referred to among the following entries was ostensibly for the purpose of complimenting the new Emperor, but according to Greville was in reality to concert measures with the Russian Ministry in its determination to recognise the independence of Greece and to support this step if necessary by force of arms.

April 7th. Dined at Westmorland's with the Jerseys, Burghersh and Mr. Arbuthnot. The last had received a letter from the Duke of Wellington in which he said that he had assisted at the bringing of the body of the Emperor Alexander from Tsarkoi Selo to the church of Cazan, where it was to remain until the day of the burial. The ceremony took six hours. The Duke accompanied the body in his quality of Field-Marshal.

April 15th. News has been received that the Emperor Nicholas has sent an ultimatum to Constantinople and that if the Porte does not agree to the demands therein contained Russian troops will occupy the principalities. The demands are (1) the evacuation of Wallachia and Moldavia and the recall of the Peschlis; (2) the liberation of the Servian hostages, and (3) the despatch of Turkish Commissioners to the frontier to make a definite arrangement with regard to the principalities. Six months are allowed for the fulfilling of these conditions.² Nevertheless the Duke of Wellington has up to the present sent home nothing official with regard to this.

April 16th. The Duke of Devonshire has been appointed special Ambassador to attend the Coronation of the Emperor Nicholas, which is to take place next June.

April 24th. Dined with Mr. Canning to celebrate the King's birthday. From there I went to a *soirée* at the

¹ He did not die till 1835.

² Russia waged a successful war against Turkey in 1828-9

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Duke of Northumberland's, where there is a gallery worthy of a royal palace.¹ Among other things to be seen there is a most beautiful copy of the School of Athens (by Raffaelle) made by Mengs.

April 27th. The Duke of Wellington arrived from St. Petersburg, where he had concluded a convention for mediation on the part of England between the Porte and the Greeks.

During the following three months Neumann has little to record. That he was kept busy at the Embassy is indicated by the frequent mention of the despatching or arrival of diplomatic messengers; but otherwise there is no entry concerning social events except on May 26th, when four days passed with Mr. Hope at Deepdene for the Epsom meeting are recorded, another fall from his horse about this time near Kenwood resulted in the Diarist putting his shoulder out of joint. In August he makes a tour on the Continent, leaving London for Ostend on the 9th and arriving in Brussels the next day. There he stayed at the Belle Vue, where he found Lord Downshire, Lord Herbert and other friends, and discovered little change in the city although he says he 'quitted it thirty years previously' By way of Spa and Johannisberg, where Prince Metternich welcomed him, he went on to Schwalbach, meeting there Lord Hertford and others with whom he returned to Johannisberg. From this spot he made various excursions, one day to Bingen on the Rhine, on another to dine with the Duke of Nassau at his shooting box at Platte situated on an eminence on the other side of Wiesbaden. 'He carried us in carriages to Biberach,' says Neumann, adding, 'This ruler is adored in his country, and properly so, for it is impossible to govern with more kindness and good nature.'

Aug. 27th. Went to Mayence to hear Mdlle. Sontag² sing, whose voice rather disappointed me, but the fact is she was tired through a long journey. We dined with General Mensdorff and returned with Prince Pierre d'Aremberg to sleep at Wiesbaden.

Aug. 30th. Went to see a property belonging to Count Bassenheim called Niederwald, near Rudersheim. From it one can see a large part of the Rhine valley, and there are

¹ This was in old Northumberland House, which was demolished in 1874 to make way for Northumberland Avenue. The house dated from the time of James I., but had been much decorated inside and enlarged by the Adams.

² A famous German soprano, afterwards Countess Rossi. She was born in Coblenz in 1805 and died in Mexico in 1854. See also page 186.

a number of magnificent views. Indeed the whole of this hill-side is superb. The prospect from the terraces of Johannisberg is the finest in the world. It extends to Bingen on the one hand and Biberach on the other. The land is very rich and surrounded with houses belonging to the most illustrious families in Germany, among others that of Schönborn had once four brothers, one of whom was Elector of Mayence, another Elector of Treves, the third Grand Master of the Teutonic Order,¹ and the fourth Prince Bishop of Wurzburg.

A round of dinner parties occupied Neumann's evenings while here, and we note that the King of Bavaria and the Duke of Nassau were on one occasion among his fellow-guests. On September 7th he leaves for Frankfort accompanied by Prince Pierre d'Aremberg, and while there is entertained by the Baron de Munch, Rothschild, and Bethman, at whose castle he saw among other statues the *Aradne* by Danecker which he had seen begun and completed at Stuttgart sixteen years previously, and of which he says, 'Canova would have gloried to have done it.' He reached Baden on the 11th.

Sept. 12th. Saw Baden with Prince Metternich who arrived this morning from Baron Berstell's, where he had passed the night. The picturesque situation of Baden and its walks are delicious. Left for Offenburg where I dined. Parted from Prince Metternich who went on to Donaueschingen while I left for Breisgau.

Sept. 13th. Arrived at Fribourg at two o'clock in the morning. Saw Fribourg and its beautiful cathedral. It is ornamented with modern stained-glass windows which are as good as old ones. They are the work of a native artist whose talent can hardly be too much admired. Left Fribourg in the morning and arrived the same evening at Schaffhausen, after passing through glorious country. I met on the way Princess Stephanie of Baden.

Sept. 14th. Saw the famous Falls of the Rhine, which did not overwhelm me as much as they do others. The water does not fall from a sufficient height to be striking. The perpetual mist formed by its foam which floats above it astonished me more than anything, but the whole thing is very fine. On the way from Schaffhausen to Lauffen

¹ Founded at Acre in 1192 and confirmed by the Emperor and Pope.

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there is a superb view of the mountains of the Canton of Lucerne covered with everlasting snow. It required great restraint on my part to resist going into Switzerland. Left for Bregenz by way of Stockach, along Lake Constance, which I admired less than the high masses of Swiss mountains one sees in the distance or the mist floating above the falls of the Rhine. Arrived in the evening at Bregenz, but did not find Prince Metternich there, although he had arranged to meet me.

Sept. 15th. Arrived in the morning at Bludenz where Prince Metternich had passed the night. The country between Feldkirch and Bludenz is superb. Passed the Arlberg, one of the high passes in Tyrol. I could not help feeling nervous sometimes at the immense precipices on the very edge of which the wheels of my carriage passed.

Sept. 16th. Arrived at Innsbruck at 5 o'clock in the morning and there rejoined Prince Metternich. Saw the church in which stands the famous monument to the Emperor Maximilian surrounded by bronze statues of the various emperors and archduchesses. Left Innsbruck for St. Johann where we slept.

Having seen the sights of Innsbruck the travellers went on to Salzburg where they found the Prince's family and Mme. de Fuchs, after dining with whom they proceeded to the Castle of Mondsee belonging to the Prince of Wrede who had received it as a gift from Napoleon I. The next day they left for Ischl, 'passing through delicious country—a miniature Switzerland.' Of this place Neumann writes 'It is noted for its manufacture of salt, the mountains surrounding it being full of this material. Water is run through the mines and this comes into Ischl saturated with salt, which is there collected and prepared for use.' Having left Prince Metternich, who went off to meet the Emperor at Weinzierl, Neumann proceeded alone by way of the Lake of Gmunden—'the most picturesque of the twelve to be found in this country'—to Vienna, where he arrived at 2 o'clock in the morning.

Sept. 20th. I experienced a singular sensation in seeing it again after an absence of twelve years. Everything seemed so small and narrow after London, which is, and will for long remain, the capital of the world through its splendour, its beauty and its wealth.

Sept. 21st. Saw a great many old friends, the Lebzels-

terns among them, and was warmly received by all the personnel of the *Chancellerie d'Etat*.

On the 24th he left for Eisenstadt where he found Sir H. Wellesley, Lord Albert Conyngham, Mr. Lister, 'author of the charming romance of *Granby*', Lord Lillfort (Lilford) and Prince Wenzl Liechtenstein. The next day there was a shooting party, when 909 head of game were bagged, Neumann himself 'killing a large number, although I am a bad shot.' The shoot took place apparently on an estate of Prince Esterhazy, for on the 26th the Diarist speaks of dining at Pottendorf, another castle belonging to the Prince, which was formerly a stronghold of the Knights Templar. The ruins of the old castle were still standing and the Diarist records that it was here in the sixteenth century that the Counts Nadashy and Tekeli (? Teleki) headed the conspiracy to carry off the Emperor Leopold to Neustadt.

It was at this moment that the project of Neumann's journey to Brazil, of which an account will be found further on, was first mooted.

Sept. 27th. Prince Metternich told me that he wished to send me on a temporary mission to Brazil. Flattering as this may be, I begged him to excuse me, as I did not feel capable of undertaking what was required of me.

Oct. 2nd. Dined with the English Ambassador (at Vienna). Had a long conversation with Mercy and Gentz,¹ both of whom pointed out to me the importance of my voyage to Rio de Janeiro, and the flattering way in which the Prince had spoken about me in this connection to the former.

Oct. 4th. Audience with the Archduchess Marie Louise whom I had not seen since her marriage with Napoleon. I found her greatly changed and become very thin, but her manners were charming.

There follow records of a number of dinner parties to which Neumann was invited and at which many people bearing illustrious names were present—Prince Esterhazy, Prince Dietrichstein, Count Sedlnitzky, Count Wratislaw, the Duchesse de Sagan, Countess Jean Palffy, and so forth. Inasmuch, however, as these are simply lists of names and no conversation or other incidents are mentioned, there is no need to do otherwise than thus allude to them. One

¹ Frederick von Gentz, b. 1764, d. 1832. German publicist and diplomatist, Chief Secretary at various Congresses.

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entry, however, shows that Neumann had been persuaded to undertake the Brazil mission—evidently much against his will

Oct. 25th. My departure for Brazil approaches. Never was there a more disagreeable commission.

Oct. 29th. Audience with the Emperor¹ and Empress, who received me with the greatest kindness, as did the Hereditary Crown Prince and the Archduke Franz Carl. The society of Vienna also took great interest in me, particularly Madame de Wbrua, Madame Jean Palffy and Prince Esterhazy.

On October 31st Neumann left Vienna, and travelling by way of Stuttgart reached Paris on the evening of November 9th, after having, as he writes, experienced worse roads in France than anywhere else on his journey. The day after he arrived he dined with the Duke and Duchess of Orleans at Neuilly, 'where I received,' he says, 'a perfect welcome as usual.' Later he went to the Opera where *The Siege of Corinth* was given, 'a fine spectacle, the music reminiscent of Rossini,' he says, which is not surprising seeing that it was Rossini's! Afterwards he went on to a ball given by Lady Granville,² where he met many old friends. The next day he left Paris, but before doing so found time to go to the Gymnase to see 'a charming piece entitled *Le Mariage de Raison*, in which the chief attraction is the acting of Léontine Fay,³ Jenny Vertpré and Gouthier.'

The difference of cross-channel travelling then and now is well exemplified in the following entry

Nov. 13th. Left Boulogne at 3 o'clock by the packet *Medusa*. The sea was very choppy and I was very ill. The crossing took four and a half hours. Left Dover at 8 o'clock and arrived in London at midnight.

With the following notice of a dinner at Mr. Peel's the Diary closes for a time, to be succeeded by the journal which Neumann kept of his voyage to Brazil, which will be given in full as an interesting record of travelling a hundred years ago to a place then far less known than it is to-day. The rude reception given by Napoleon to Lord Whitworth mentioned is a well-known incident. It took place on May 13th, 1803.⁴

¹ Francis II., b. 1768, d. 1835. The brother of Marie Antoinette. The last of his four wives was Caroline Augusta of Bavaria.

² Daughter of the 5th Duke of Devonshire, married to the 1st Earl of Granville in 1809.

³ Léontine Volnys. I have already referred to her on p. 78n.

⁴ See Rose's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. 1, pp. 418-25.

Dec. 3rd. Dined with Mr. Peel, among other guests being Lord Harrowby, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Canning. Mr. Peel showed us a very interesting autograph letter of Bonaparte. It was given by Talleyrand to the Duke of Wellington. It is an order with regard to the reception of Lord Whitworth. Talleyrand had informed Bonaparte that he ought to have an interview with the English plenipotentiary, and Bonaparte on the second sheet of this same letter wrote with his own hand that he should be received in a high-handed and haughty manner ; that he should be told that France was no longer that of the Bourbons when there was an English Commissioner at Dunkerque ; that if he spoke of an ultimatum that he should be informed that the word would be regarded as meaning war, and was one only to be used by a superior to an inferior ; that if he did not use it efforts were to be made to make him do so. The interview was to be arranged to take place before Whitworth sent his courier to London, under the pretence that it was desired to know what effect this interview would have on him (Bonaparte). He was to be asked if the Cape and the Island of Goree were evacuated, and to make these points an excuse for negotiation ; although Bonaparte had a few hours previously learnt of the evacuation of these places. Mr. Peel told us that he had offered a copy of this letter to Sir Walter Scott for the history of Napoleon he was going to write, but that the latter had refused it, saying that his work had already been sold to the publisher, but that he would make use of it in a second edition.

SECTION IV

JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE TO BRAZIL

DECEMBER 19TH, 1826, TO MAY 11TH, 1827

THE following account of Neumann's journey to Brazil is given in full because, although many of the facts he relates have become common knowledge since his day, it is interesting to find how a sailing vessel made the voyage a hundred years ago, and to learn the conditions at that time of the various places visited. The reception he met with not only in Brazil, but also on the way thither, at Funchal and Teneriffe, etc , indicates the importance attached to his mission.

Dec. 19th. Left London on the night of the 18th-19th for Portsmouth with Prince Esterhazy and Buol, who wished to accompany me. Dined with the admiral, Sir George Martin. There was a good deal of confusion in the town, caused by the English troops leaving for Lisbon.

Dec. 20th. Captain Coghlan of the frigate *La Forte*, in which I was to embark, showed the Prince over his vessel, and gave him a salute of fifteen guns. In the evening the Prince took leave of me, exhibiting much touching kindness when doing so. He appeared greatly moved, as did Buol.

Dec. 21st. The wind was favourable and we embarked at 10 o'clock, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, Count Fries, myself and the Captain, the first coming as a simple traveller, the second destined for the Legation in Brazil. We reached the ship, which was lying at anchor at Spithead, in half an hour. The Captain received me with a salute of fifteen guns, as he had done Prince Esterhazy the previous evening. The anchor being weighed we sailed away at mid-day by a north-east wind, which was as favourable as we could wish. The frigate having been fitted up for us,

we were most comfortable, each having a very commodious cabin. I was slightly sea-sick.

Dec. 22nd. Passed the Lizard and made 200 miles in twenty-four hours.

Dec. 24th. Two days of cabin. My sea-sickness ceased on the third day.

Dec. 27th. Passed through the Bay of Biscay in forty-eight hours, the sea and wind both being favourable. This is generally one of the worst parts of the voyage, on account of the strong currents and the height of the waves.

Dec. 30th. Off Funchal, the capital of Madeira, at 4 a.m. For the last twenty-four hours the temperature has gradually become milder, till to-day the thermometer has reached 17° Réaumur. The town of Funchal stands out well. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre and, surrounded by a large number of villas spread about on the hills which dominate the town, it presents a most pleasing appearance. It has neither a port nor a jetty, the consequence being that vessels have a bad anchorage in the roadstead and have sometimes to cut their cables in order to get out to sea when storms arise. As we were not going to land till the next day, I sent a letter from the Marquis de Palmella to the Governor of the Island, Don Manuel of Portugal. His Excellency the same evening sent to me one of his aides-de-camp with his compliments and to make his excuses that etiquette prevented him from coming on board a foreign vessel, but to say that he hoped to see me at his house the next day. The English Consul wrote inviting me to stay with him, but I had already arranged to do so with Mr. Gordon, the Austrian Consul.

Dec. 31st. Went on shore at 9.30 a.m. The Captain saluted me with fifteen guns and ran up the Austrian flag, in spite of all my entreaties that he would dispense with these honours. On land, halfway from the palace, I met the Governor, who came to meet me in great state, accompanied by his staff. He conducted me to his house, where the guard was under arms and the drums beating. At the Residence I was saluted by a salvo of artillery. The Governor thought that I was going to stay with him, and

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was full of regrets when he found that I had arranged to go to Mr. Gordon's. On arriving at the latter's place I found the garrison drawn up under arms in the piazza ready to salute me. Hardly had I got to my destination before a guard of honour arrived with the regimental band sent by the Governor. I thanked and dismissed them. His Excellency returned my visit an hour later, and the Bishop of Funchal anticipated mine to him. The day ended by a dinner at the English Consul's which lasted four long hours !

1827

Jan. 1st. When one reflects that there are only nine days between my departure from England and my arrival at Madeira one is struck by the difference in the climate. In winter there is never less than 16° of heat, and never more than 22° in summer. Also one sees here all sorts of tropical vegetation : bananas, sugar canes, the dragon tree, teak and myrtle, the latter growing in hedges everywhere. The oranges are just ripe, and the trees bear their fruit and flower simultaneously. The island abounds in date trees, which are in flower and exude a delicious odour. Nature seems to have concentrated its gifts in this little island. There are about 100,000 inhabitants. It is evidently the result of volcanic eruption, for one finds chiefly basalt and lava here, which are the cause of its wine being so famous. In a single morning one passes through the regions of two distinct worlds, for at only 4,000 feet above the sea one finds European plants.

I went to see the country home of Mr. Caroalhal, the richest private person in the island. His fortune is estimated at £25,000 a year. This property, called Palhero, has been entirely formed by him. The house is small, but the park is lovely, chiefly on account of the rare trees and plants. The cactus, the banana, and the orange grow in the open, although at a height of 200 feet above sea level. There are, too, hedges entirely formed of geraniums. The day ended with a dinner at the Governor's which lasted exactly four hours, and we were inundated by 'healths'

and talk. The Governor is a man of distinguished manners. His family descends from Inez de Castro, whose name he also bears, and consequently he is related to the royal family. He loaded me with so many honours and so much politeness that I thought myself rather at Barataria¹ than Madeira.

Jan. 2nd. Took a walk into the interior of the island, to the coral valley famous for its wild aspect. One looks down from a height of 4,000 feet. Being familiar with the fine scenery of our Tyrolese and Styrian mountains, I was less struck by it, especially as in order to get there one has to ride for four hours by paths all cobbled and more or less bad, and which rise and fall continually. Fatigue tempered our admiration. The defect of Madeira is that except in the environs of Funchal there is not a spot of flat ground where one can walk in comfort; but on the other hand it would be difficult to find a more delicious or more health-giving climate. Its equability enables one to choose exactly the temperature one wants according to the height at which one desires to live; thus all those who would be likely to die elsewhere are sent here. The island abounds in pure and fresh water which spreads itself in torrents on all sides, and is of the greatest use for the vines, which can thus be watered as required.

The vine is the only produce of the island and it grows in great abundance. The peasants are strong and well-made, and the women in spite of their dark complexions have a piquant air. The custom of constantly walking up and down hills gives them *svelte* and lissom figures. Both sexes wear head-dresses of blue cloth ending in a very long point and only covering the top of the head without affording any protection against the sun. These head-dresses are called *carassucas*.

I met a friend of mine, Mrs. Fane, who came to Madeira for her husband's health, who looks as if he needed it. I also made the acquaintance of Madame Sumter, a French lady married to an American who was Minister at Rio Janeiro. The health of her eldest daughter, the wife of a Mr. Binda, had also brought her here. I ended the day

¹ The island over which Sancho Panza was made Governor.

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by another dinner at the country house of our Consul, where I was obliged to pass the same long time in drinking healths and talk. I returned to the town on foot at midnight in weather which at home we should only be too delighted to have in July. During the last three days the thermometer has registered 18 to 20 degrees.

Jan. 3rd. Left Madeira at 2 a.m., and two hours later we were out of the roadstead, after having said good-bye to the Governor and not being able sufficiently to testify my gratitude for the hospitality of my host Mr. Gordon and his partner Mr. Bean. The Captain received me on board with the marines presenting arms and the inevitable salute of fifteen guns.

Jan. 5th. Arrived off the island of Teneriffe which was, unfortunately, covered by a thick mist out of which emerged however the top of the peak covered with snow. It is very pointed in appearance, although it is said that on the summit there is a flat surface extending over an acre. Its height is said to be about 12,000 feet. A tempest which occurred in the island in November last had destroyed many of the houses with their occupants and even some vessels in the roadstead of Santa Cruz, the capital. The temperature was not so mild as that near Madeira, although the climate of the Canaries in general is claimed to be the most delicious in the world. A violent gale was blowing, and the Captain would not risk sailing along the east coast of the island. We went by the west between Teneriffe and Gomera, and were there caught in a calm which lasted the whole day.

Jan. 7th. The sea has been very rough for the last two days, and the rolling of the vessel has been unbearable. They have been obliged to fix our chairs to the dinner table, but in spite of this we have been nearly upset every few minutes. I have been unable to sleep, having been so tossed about in bed. The port-holes of my cabin were screwed down, the sea having broken those of Count Fries. The whole sky is overcast and indicates storms of wind. We are carrying little sail, although we are making 8 to 9 miles an hour. In spite of the bad weather I am keeping my sea-legs. When I feel ill, which I have done four or

five times since leaving Spithead, I lie down, and that eases me.

To-day we passed through the tropic of Cancer. One of our sailors died ; this is the third in a fortnight. They held the burial service on the poop. The chaplain read the prayers, and all the crew took part in the ceremony, the Captain and officers in full dress. The dead man was wrapped in one of the flags, in which they consigned him to the sea, with several cannon balls attached to his feet.

Jan. 8th. The Captain punished a sailor because he refused to be present at the burial yesterday. Passed an American merchantman, the *Catherine*, which left Liverpool twelve days ago and is on its way to Sumatra. Although we have passed the first tropic the heat is only 17° and the air very pleasant.

Jan. 10th. Arrived off St. Antonio, one of the Cape Verde Islands. We were suddenly surprised by a calm and were thus prevented from sailing close to the island, which only possesses one bay, where the anchorage is very difficult for men of war. We wanted to get some turtles, which abound on the island. The place seems little inhabited, indeed we only saw two huts. It has a very pleasant appearance. It contains mountains which they say are 7,000 feet high. Although we were at least three miles away, such a deliciously aromatic odour came from the land that we were sorry not to be able to go ashore. The horizon being very cloudy we could not see the island from afar. During the night, however, we sailed close to it, and in the morning the atmosphere being still very thick, we wondered if we were near or not, when the fog suddenly lifting, there was presented to our eyes a perfect theatrical effect, so cleverly had our position been calculated by observation and the accuracy of the chronometer. The Cape Verde Islands belong to Portugal and form part of Africa. There are ten of them, St. Iago and St. Vincent being the principal. Their climate is said to be excellent.

Jan. 11th. Again we are in truly Elysian seas, which enable us to make nine or ten miles an hour ; the going is so smooth that the movement of the vessel is hardly felt ; it glides through the waves as though on a river, without it

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being necessary to alter the sails. I saw for the first time a number of flying-fish, which remain in the air for a distance of about forty paces.

Jan. 16th. Be calmed since yesterday. We are still at 5° from the Line, and the heat has begun to be rather oppressive. A fourth sailor died yesterday and was consigned to the sea this morning.

Jan. 18th. The calm continues ; for four days we have hardly made one degree. Last evening we had a heavy storm. A thunderbolt fell near the vessel. The whole crew was on the alert, each man at his post, the fire engines ready on the decks. The storm lasted an hour. One could see the electric fluid passing from one cannon to another. Luckily the rain fell in torrents. It is remarkable that the masts, which are so likely to be struck, should not be supplied with lightning conductors. Yesterday we saw a large shark and several little ones, but were unable to catch any of them. One needs a good deal of patience to put up with the monotony of life on board ship, in spite of the fine description given by Lord Byron in the second canto of *Childe Harold* :

'He that has sailed upon the dark blue sea,' etc.

The deep blue colour of the sea on a fine day is indeed superb. Its appearance in the evening is still more surprising between the tropics. Each movement of the waves produces a phosphorescent effect which gives the impression that the whole of the deep is on fire. But at the end of a few days one has had enough of it, especially when one realises that the pleasure is to last for eight weeks.

Jan. 22nd. After four days of the calm which is always encountered in these regions we arrived little by little at the Line, which we passed in the afternoon, at 22° longitude. From observations made several years ago it has been discovered that between the 18th and 22nd of longitude calms and variable winds are less frequent. The charts supplied by the Admiralty to Captains of men-of-war trace this route, which they do their best to follow carefully, in order to avoid all responsibility.

On the day on which the Line is passed there is a custom in use among the sailors of all nations, but which the English in particular practise with an almost cruel brutality. Those who have not already passed the Line are shaved with a jagged iron, after having been lathered with a composition of tar. They are then tipped backwards into a large reservoir of salt water, where the satellites of Neptune, the hero of the ceremony, await the victim in order to wash him. Those against whom there is any ill feeling have a bad time of it, since they make them swallow a good deal of salt water. This ceremony begins by the procession in which Neptune (one of the sailors) appears surrounded by his court, which resembles a band of savages. The Captain and the officers find great amusement in this. The latter, as well as the midshipmen, throw jets of water on the victim. It is difficult to avoid being soaked. Count Fries was drenched by the officers. Prince Schwarzenberg got off fairly well, and I escaped altogether, the Captain having given orders to this effect. One can, however, ransom oneself, and our people avoided the ceremony by paying a dollar and a half each. The ceremony ended at mid-day.

Jan. 26th. After passing the Line we fell in with favourable winds which enabled us to make from 120 to 130 miles a day, the weather the whole time being most beautiful and the sea quite calm. The nature of these winds is peculiar : they blow always in one direction so regularly that there is no need to alter the sails, and when one meets with them the day of arrival at one's destination can be calculated to a nicety. We saw many molluscs of a kind called by the English ' Portuguese men-of-war ' (*nautilus*). The top of them looks like a little rose-coloured ship ; it bends with the wind and serves as a sail for the creature. Long fibrous tentacles are attached to that part which is submerged, and these float in the water. When one touches them they produce a very unpleasant numbness which is communicated to the whole arm. The Prince of Neuwied mentions them in his *Voyage to Brazil*.

Jan. 30th. To-day a sailor fell into the sea ; a life-belt was at once thrown to him and as he swam very well he

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was soon rescued. At the same time a boat was lowered. Luckily there was no shark near the vessel, otherwise it would have been difficult to save the man. The promptitude with which everything was done was amazing. This life-belt contains a rocket which in case of necessity can be fired off in order to indicate at night the position of anyone holding on to it.

A sailor died to-day. This is the sixth man we have lost since leaving Portsmouth. The doctor treated him *à la Sangrado*¹ and bled him continually.

Feb. 1st. We have made great progress and are now not more than 500 miles from Cape Frio. Although we are just now exactly under the sun, the heat is quite bearable.

Feb. 2nd. For the last few days the sailors have been engaged in cleaning and painting the vessel and the boats preparatory to entering Rio Janeiro. The English have a great *penchant* for keeping their ships in spick and span order. Our frigate, although of the second class and only carrying forty-six cannon, is nevertheless very neat and elegant. She is 148 feet long by 40 wide. When all her sails are set she presents a most beautiful sight. I have counted sometimes twenty different sails, but she can on occasion carry as many as thirty. The crew is not a particularly select one—two-thirds of the sailors never having served in a man-of-war before. The officers are excellent, their duties very onerous: the First Lieutenant does not take duty on watch as he is occupied all day with the details of the ship, a very fatiguing business. The three other lieutenants keep watch on the bridge alternately day and night. Each watch lasts four hours, except from 4 o'clock to 8 o'clock in the evening, when they are divided into two which are called the dog-watches, with which exception each officer mounts guard always at the same hour.² In addition to these four lieutenants there are two officers in command of thirty marines, a navigation-

¹ The reference is to Dr. Sangrado in *Gil Blas*, whose panacea for all ailments was constant bleeding

² Of course, the object of the dog-watches is to prevent exactly that which Neumann asserts, i.e. that each officer (and man) should be on duty always at the same time.

master who ranks as an officer, twelve midshipmen, a doctor and a chaplain. Captain Coghlan is a distinguished officer of the English Navy. From midshipman he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant out of his turn, by order of the King in Council, which is probably the only instance of such a thing happening. No one could be more attentive than he. Our time is passed between reading, eating and walking on the poop, especially during the evening. The heat is not overpowering, being tempered by the sea breezes. The thermometer stands continually between 21° and 22°.

Feb. 4th. Made 236 miles in twenty-four hours, with a strong wind and a rough sea. I fell ill, but the sea becoming calmer about 4 o'clock I recovered.

Feb. 5th. Last night we were becalmed at intervals. Saw Cape Frio. The weather was misty and the sky cloudy. Judging by the temperature one might have been off the English coast. A sad circumstance occurred this evening. The officers' cook, who had been ill for some days, threw himself into the sea, it is supposed in a moment of delirium, and although a boat was at once lowered he could not be found. The sailors think that he was at once seized by a shark.

Feb. 6th. The calm continues, and although only fifty-four miles from Rio Janeiro we could not get there and were obliged to anchor outside the entrance to the bay. Count Fries jumped into the sea for a bathe, and a quarter of an hour after he had come out two sharks were seen close to the ship.

Feb. 7th. We weighed anchor between 9-10 a.m. and at last entered the Bay of Rio about mid-day. The entrance is a narrow one. On the left stands a steep rock 1,300 feet high, called the Sugar Loaf because of its form. On the right is the fort of Santa Cruz. Entering one passes by two other forts, one of which is called Lage and the other Villegaigon, from the name of a Frenchman¹ who once established himself there and defended it for a long time.

¹ Chevalier de Villegaigon, b 1510, d. 1571. He sailed to Rio in 1555 and formed a colony for Protestants there under the orders of Coligny. He returned to France and in 1567 the colony was dispersed by the Portuguese

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The further one advances the more this vast bay spreads out and improves. It is filled with a number of small islands and surrounded by mountains extraordinary from their form rather than their height. Baron de Mareschal sent out to me to say that he had hired a house for me and that in addition he had got a room for me in his own residence. I accepted the latter, the house being rather too far away from his. The captain sent me ashore in a covered boat which he had expressly fitted up, and as I left the ship he hoisted the Austrian flag and saluted me with the inevitable and eternal fifteen guns. In spite of the pleasure of quitting a vessel in which one has been shut up for eight weeks, one cannot take leave of those who have been so attentive and friendly without a strong feeling of gratitude, and I can never sufficiently praise the extraordinary attention I have received from all the officers.

I disembarked at Botafogo, a kind of faubourg three miles from the town, extremely well situated and extending round one of the arms of the bay, resembling a miniature lake. One is struck by the beauty, the freshness, and the strength of the vegetation, and the richness and variety of the trees. It presents a scene so luxurious that at first sight one is quite overwhelmed by it. Mr. Gordon occupies a charming house on this bay. He was there to receive me, which he did most graciously. Baron Mareschal's residence is situated at Cateta, which is quite close to Botafogo.

The first news I received was that of the death of the Empress.¹ This event greatly affected me, and I regret it the more as I was carrying letters to her from the whole of the Imperial Family, including the Emperor and Empress. I found, too, a change of Ministry. Lord Henry Thynne,² the captain of the frigate *Ranger*, was the first to tell me of this sad news.

Feb. 9th. I paid my first visit to the Marquis de Queluz, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, who speaks French perfectly. Then I went to see the town. The streets are narrow and badly paved but have a kind of pavement for

¹ Wife of Dom Pedro I. of Brazil.

² Son of the 2nd Marquess of Bath, whom he succeeded in 1837.

pedestrians. The Emperor's Palace is neither fine nor large. It faces the harbour, but he (the Emperor) only comes there for gala occasions or sometimes in order to give audiences. He lives in the Palais de St. Christophe on the north side of the town. The shops are kept chiefly by French and English. They fill the Rue Ouvidor, which is the best in the place. The Portuguese merchants congregate in the Rue d'Aquitanda. There is a good deal of commercial activity in Rio, between three and four thousand merchant vessels entering the port yearly. In return for the manufactured articles imported they export sugar, coffee, wood, &c. It is disagreeable to see so many negroes about. The whites remain in their houses so one sees few of them. The blacks, who are nearly all slaves, seem happy enough in appearance. Among them are some fine men, but the women are mostly ugly.

Feb. 12th. To-day flags were hoisted on the forts and the Brazilian vessels, and guns were fired off from the Fort of Santa Cruz, it being the birthday of our Emperor (of Austria).¹ Mr. Gordon entertained me at a large diplomatic dinner, where more consuls than ministers were present, all the Powers not being yet represented here. Mr. Gordon proposed the health of our Emperor.

Feb. 13th. I had my first audience with the Emperor, Don Pedro, at his palace of St. Christophe. He received me surrounded by the whole of his young family, the Prince Royal and the four *infantas*; the eldest, already Queen of Portugal at the age of eight, and Donna Paola, greatly resemble their dead mother, the Empress. They were all in deep mourning, having great ribbons with badges over their dresses, which gave them the appearance of one of Vandyck's pictures. After a little while the Emperor dismissed them. I then handed to him the letter from my august Master, and he listened very patiently to all I had to say. On the whole he received me very graciously. He is a good-looking man, very robust, slightly marked by the small-pox, with a piercing eye and a quick understanding. The palace of St. Christophe is very ordinary. There is not a private person in England

¹ He was born at Florence in 1768, and died at Vienna on March 2nd, 1835.

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who does not possess a better and more charming abode. The country leading to and surrounding it is very pretty, and is in marked contrast with that on the other side; Botafogo being cultivated and pleasant, whereas the other has a more savage appearance. The house of the Marquise de Santos, the intimate companion of the Emperor, is close to his palace.

Feb. 14th. I was present at the funeral service celebrated by the Municipality in honour of the deceased Empress at the Convent d'Ajuda, where she is buried. I received letters from Prince Esterhazy and other friends by the English packet which had just arrived. One must be a long distance from home to appreciate the value of a letter.

Feb. 19th. Second audience of the Emperor, who was more at his ease than on the former occasion and talked familiarly, but in Portuguese, as he expresses himself with difficulty in French, which however he understands well enough. Baron Mareschal acted as interpreter.

Feb. 23rd. I have been occupied during the last few days with the forthcoming voyage of Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, who very kindly offered to carry my despatches to Vienna. He left this morning by the packet *Lord Sidmouth*. I should have liked to be going myself and it cost me an effort to resist the temptation.

Feb. 24th. Went for a walk in the Botanical Gardens by a delightful road having the bay on the left and the base of a chain of hills on the right. The garden contains in the open the rarest trees and plants from the East and West Indies and China, such as the pepper tree, the clove tree, the bread-fruit, and Cape jasmine and the tea plant, of which a box was presented to me. The garden lies at the fork of Corcovado, one of the most picturesque mountains in the environs of Rio.

Feb. 25th. Left on horseback at 6 o'clock in the morning with Mareschal, Fries and Aston, to make an expedition to what is called the 'Promenade of the Aqueduct.' We mounted by Larangera, a charming valley leading also to Corcovado, where one can see the water running along this aqueduct, without which the town would often be desti-

tute of that necessity. It is a fine undertaking, which they owe to one of the old viceroys. It would be difficult to make a more picturesque or at the same time a more savage and more attractive expedition, or one more varied in every way through the nature of the ground, the views to be obtained, and the vegetation that abounds. The beauty of the trees is beyond all description. Rhododendrons, mimosa in flower, and palms of all kinds, with which the mountains are covered and which form dense forests, combine in offering a prospect of which one can never tire. When a certain height has been reached one can take in at a glance the great Bay of Rio and that of neighbouring St. Christophe. We descended by the Santa Theresa side and took three hours over what is one of the most charming rides possible. The heat was, however, intense.

March 1st. Expedition to the Tijuca Valley, situated about three leagues from Rio. I went with Mareschal and Fries. One goes up hill imperceptibly all the way. It can only be done on horseback, and then certain parts of the way are almost impracticable. On the other hand one is repaid by the beauty of the country one passes through. One is constantly surrounded by mountains covered with the finest trees and virgin forests. Coffee is much cultivated in the valley. M. Le Comte de la —,¹ who has resided here for some years, owns the plantations. Madame la Comtessa de Roquefeuil, aunt of the Comte de Gestas, the French Consul, also lives here. There is a beautiful waterfall in this valley, but it was the portion of the road before one reaches this that struck me most, for it is one of the most picturesque imaginable. It forms an arbour of parasitical plants which hang in festoons from the trees. Among others, aloes, which with us they say only flower every hundred years and only in hot-houses, bear flowers here every year and grow with the traditional luxuriance of parasites. These plants present a singular phenomenon in that they are growing on the highest trees where man could not have placed them, and are nourished at the expense of the tree itself, which does not appear to suffer

¹ Undecipherable.

from it although the suckers are very vigorous, often as thick as one's arm, and many hundreds of feet in length. Baron Mareschal had arranged for the dinner to be laid in a little house belonging to the Marquis de Marego, the Minister of the Navy, which had been lent for this purpose. This house is delightfully placed overlooking a part of the valley at the end of which the ocean can be seen. We returned in the evening ; it was very hot it is true, but we had been well repaid for our fatigue.

March 4th. Lunched on board the French frigate *La Surveillante*, the vessel which brought out M. de Gabriac, the French Minister, and on which the French Government had obligingly offered me a passage in the event of my not having been able to obtain an English ship. This frigate has on board Vice-Admiral Lamarant, commanding the naval station in the South Seas. It carries sixty cannon, and is one hundred and seventy feet long. It is a magnificent ship and beautifully kept, in no way falling short of an English boat in point of order and arrangement. The crew, composed in great part of conscripted sailors enrolled according to the new system, seems to have the defect of being too young. The admiral received me on the bridge surrounded by all his officers. On leaving I was honoured by a salute of fifteen guns, which made a fearful noise. Knowing that I was anxious to return to Europe the admiral offered me one of the ships which he is awaiting from the Pacific, and I accepted in the event of one of the two English men-of-war, the battleship *Cambridge* or the frigate *Blanche*, which were destined to take me back, not arriving before.

March 6th. Climbed to the top of Corcovado, a mountain 1,700 feet high situated close to the capital. The road leads up by the pretty valley of Aranjera, the only defect of which is that it is too closely populated by negresses washing linen in the brook which runs through it, and whose costume frequently rivals that of Eve. One mounts two-thirds of the way by a very easy path to where the Emperor has caused a continuation of the road, which did not before exist, to be constructed. It runs through a virgin forest of great beauty on account of the variety and

size of the trees, in the midst of which one sees palms of all kinds, rhododendrons in flower at least fifty feet high and wide in proportion, a kind of acacia with a magnificent golden yellow flower, mimosas as big as oaks in full flower, and another tree having such shining leaves that at a distance they look perfectly white. This variety and richness of colouring in the midst of hidden forests which one gradually overlooks as one ascends, and with which all the mountains are so thickly covered that one cannot distinguish an empty space, form altogether a picture as attractive as it is imposing, and an ordinary imagination could hardly realise it. One of the things which struck me, among others, is that the fern which with us is only a plant of two to four feet high, is here a tree thirty feet in height, the leaves of which are divided and arranged like those of a palm, giving it both form and elegance. What makes these forests so thick and well-nigh impenetrable is the quantity of creepers and parasitical plants which hang from all the trees and link them together. They are sometimes twisted like thick ropes. I have seen a group of trees which have the appearance of a great ship with its masts and cordage. The views, which vary at every step through the diversity of objects and the beauty of the different tints, offer admirable subjects to the painter, whilst for the naturalist they are inexhaustible. In spite of my ignorance of natural history and botany I could not help being struck with admiration, and I find that we at home have little idea of the numberless beauties of this country.

In proportion as one ascends one sees the bay from different aspects. At the top of the mountain there is a telegraph to announce the arrival of vessels from the north or south of the Atlantic, which is spread out beneath. The Botanical Garden is at the foot of the mountain. The summit of Corcovado consists of a hard steep rock compared with which the Tarpeian Rock is an easy staircase. In addition to the telegraph, which the lightning strikes regularly two or three times a year, often killing the sentry on duty, the Emperor has had a little summer-house built, where he came on two occasions with the late Empress, who greatly loved riding, and used to make, they say,

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in spite of the heat, very long expeditions on horseback. The ascent is rapid, and although one can do the whole trip on horseback Mr. Aston and Count Fries, who made up the party, and I left our mounts at the place where the road made by the Emperor begins, and as this is in the middle of a very thick forest one was perfectly sheltered from the heat of the sun. We experienced a *contretemps* at the top, where we had hoped to meet Mr. Scheiner, who had promised to send us up lunch. However, as we were descending we met him marching up in front of his slaves, on whose heads were immense baskets filled with an excellent repast which we ate in the wood under the shade of rhododendron and palm trees, and close to a clear and fresh stream—a very rare thing in this country ; at least it is to be able to drink mountain water at its source. We took two hours to ascend Corcovado and an hour and a half to come down. The temperature on returning was 23°, the sun being vertically above us, making it very hot. About a third of the way down we stopped for a few moments at Mr. Scheiner's house, which once belonged to General Hogendorp, since dead. This Mr. Scheiner is a German merchant established in Rio with his brother, both very decent men.

March 9th. The English packet *Plover* left for England to-day. We made an excursion with the captain and officers of *La Forte*, as well as Mr. Aston, Mrs. McFarquhar, wife of an English merchant, and Mr. and Miss Young, to the Island of Governador, the largest in the bay. It belongs almost entirely to the Marquis de Jundiah, the richest inhabitant in the country. His wife is Irish and remarkable for her bad manners. She was at the country house which they possess here. Mr. Young, knowing her, asked permission to eat our dinner in her garden, but she invited us to have it brought into the house, joined hers with ours, and we were thus able to realise that the *cuisine* of the Marquise resembled her manners. Otherwise she is not a bad sort of woman, loving a glass of wine and saying the most absurd things with an Irish accent. Her garden is nothing but a vast orchard of coffee-plants and orange trees heavy with the weight of their fruit, just now becom-

ing ripe. There are also many cocoa-nut trees. She ordered several nuts to be knocked down, but unfortunately they were not ripe enough.

The sea and the mountains at the back of the bay form a most perfect view. The island, they say, abounds in many beautiful birds and in a kind of small monkey called the lion monkey, but I did not see any. The bay is full of islands and eyots, all remarkable by reason of their vegetation. Everywhere one realises that the land has great powers of production, and even on dry rocks one sees aloes growing and prospering.

The captain of *La Forte* left us on the way, as an English man-of-war had been signalled. On returning in the evening we learnt that the English Admiral, Sir Robert Otway,¹ Commander of the English station in the South Seas, had arrived at Rio from La Plata, where he had been for three months. In going to the Island of Governador we passed through the midst of half a dozen Portuguese warships which had accompanied the King when he fled to Brazil, and which they have had the stupidity to allow to rot in port without a thought of saving them!

March 10th. The courier Leyden arrived, bringing me letters and despatches from Prince Esterhazy, which afforded me much pleasure. Admiral Otway paid me a visit. He told me that he had received instructions from the Admiralty to put at my disposal the first available man-of-war for my return to Europe, and urged me strongly to await the *Cambridge*, which was due from the Pacific any day and was then to return to England.

March 12th. I took my leave of the Emperor at St. Christophe. His Majesty was engaged in cutting the hair of his daughter Donna Paola, who is of all his children the one most like the dead Empress. She brought in all the children. The Queen of Portugal seemed more at her ease than on the first occasion. She is very lively, and although a blonde with blue eyes and a very white skin, greatly resembles our Imperial family. For her eight years she is amazingly precocious. The Emperor, whom I have now seen on five different occasions, received me very

¹ See note on page 200.

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graciously. He was in great good humour, having received non-official news of the victory of his troops over those of Buenos Ayres. He brought the Queen of Portugal to me and placed her on my lap in order that I should feel her weight. She is very strong for her age, and her head, her bust and her arms are those of a girl of fifteen. It is to be hoped that she will not grow up proportionately.

March 15th. Went to the island of Pachita, one of the prettiest in the bay, not far from the mainland, on which are The Organos,¹ perpendicular mountains so called on account of their shape. I went with the captain of *La Forte*, Mr. and Mrs. McFarquhar and Mr. and Miss Young (very pretty). The island abounds in orange trees, cocoanuts, bananas, coffee-trees and cotton-trees. Its verdure is ravishing, and it is intersected by charming paths bordered by orange-trees. After dinner we took a pleasant walk into the interior with the two ladies and Captain Tait of the frigate *La Volage* and returned at 10 o'clock at night. Even at this hour the heat was excessive, which makes living at Rio insupportable. Although the temperature in summer, which it is here now, does not rise above 23° to 24° Réaumur, there is an almost perpetual dampness and heaviness in the air which is most enervating. The nights are fine but rarely fresh, and offer no relief from the heat of the day. The storms here are frequent but only occasionally severe, yet the late King of Portugal had such a fear of them that he caused an underground chamber to be constructed to which he retired on the least appearance of one. So susceptible was he to them that they say he could tell the approach of one before anyone else. On these occasions he even received his Ministers in his vault.

March 16th. Returned Sir Robert Otway's visit. He received me with military honours on board his magnificent vessel the *Ganges* of eighty-four guns. She is entirely built of teak, the hardness of which is such that it requires special tools to work it. This wood comes from the East Indies, and although making the vessel rather heavy it

¹ The Organ Mountains. They attain a height of 7,500 feet, and are remarkable for their strange forms. One of them, called Dedo de Deus (Finger of God), appears from the bay like a finger pointing to the sky.

lasts three times as long as other wood. On my departure the admiral ordered his band to play the *reveillé* of our troops, and gave me a salute of fifteen guns as an obliging accompaniment.

March 17th. Dined on board the *Ganges* with the French admiral. Sir R. Otway showed him his ship, as he had me the previous day, in every detail, and one can understand how proud he is to do the honours. It is one of the finest vessels of the English navy and is kept in most admirable condition. It is commanded by Captain Inglefield.

March 18th. I took leave of Mr. Gordon, who for the last three weeks has been too ill to see anyone, and of M. Gabriac. During my stay here both have treated me with much kindness, as has Madame Gabriac, whose beauty and bloom will not, one fears, be long able to withstand the Brazilian climate. She is a daughter of Madame Daviden and grand-daughter of the Duc de Grammont. She has a delicious voice and sings with much taste. Mr. Aston and Mr. Fraser of the English Legation, and M. Pontois and M. de la Rochefoucauld of the French, have also been very civil to me. Mareschal has overwhelmed me with kindness, and I cannot sufficiently thank them for all the attentions they have shown me.

I embarked from Botafogo at 4 o'clock on the pinnace of the English admiral, with Mareschal, Fries and Aston. I went to take leave of the captain and officers of the *La Forte*, who received me ceremoniously, the troops being under arms. The kindnesses and the attentions I have met with from Captain Coghlan and his officers filled me with emotion as I said good-bye to them. The English have a quiet way of exhibiting their friendliness which is a thousand times more eloquent than anything I know. From there I went to take leave of the French admiral, who received me with military honours. He has taken much trouble in facilitating my journey, and I am very grateful to him. I ended the day by going on board the English admiral's ship, where I was received by Sir Thomas Otway with the utmost cordiality. At 10 o'clock I went to sleep on *La Meuse*, the French vessel which is to carry me to Europe.

Knowing that I was not staying in Brazil I avoided making acquaintances and passed most of my evenings at M. Gabriac's. At the same time I visited Madame la Baronne de Campos, having had an introduction to her from her daughter, Donna Rosa Belenz, the mother of a young man of that name attached to the Brazilian Legation at Vienna, and who for that reason felt obliged to be civil to me. There I saw performed a dance imported from Rio Grande called *mio dinho*, very attractive and rather like a Scotch reel ; it is performed by five people. I also visited the Marquis de Marego, Minister of Marine. He is the brother of the Count de Linhares of the Souza family and cousin of my friend the Count Villa Real.¹ His mother-in-law, *née* Carneiro, was assassinated one evening in the presence of her two daughters as she got out of her carriage at her own door, without the assassin, who took to his heels, ever being discovered. All that they can say is that he was a mulatto. The husband was accused of having instigated the crime ; others affirm that it was the Queen of Portugal, who lived close by and who, they say, did not choose to have a neighbour who could see who visited her. Murders of this kind without being exactly frequent are on the other hand not rare, and they cause so little excitement that the culprits nearly always escape owing to the indifference shown as to their discovery.

At Rio Janeiro there is an Italian opera, according to reports of quite a mediocre character, although the soprano Fosciotti sings there and it is said sings well, and there is a fairly good ballet composed wholly of French performers. Unfortunately the place was shut owing to the death of the Empress. There is not much to see at Rio which, however, possesses an Academy of Fine Arts consisting of a large building not yet completed and still empty ; a Museum, where there are few things worth seeing except the collection of birds, of which half are not yet stuffed, and a collection of European butterflies. All the beauties and curiosities of this place are in the open : the dazzling verdure, and the eternal Spring produced by continually

¹ The Countess de Souza, the writer, was the mother of Count Flahault by her first husband and of Count Villa Real by her second.

reviving nature, for the trees are never without leaves which sprout as soon as the old ones fall.

The environs of Rio Janeiro are very beautiful and varied, and are surrounded by mountains whose singular forms and arrangement are no doubt the result of volcanic eruptions. But little indicates this, all the mountains being covered by forests which resemble nothing of the kind in Europe, since instead of one kind of tree there are thousands, and of such a beautiful character that one might think they had been planted specially, while as a matter of fact the hand of man has had nothing to do with them, and most of the forests, even those close to the capital, are virgin. My eyes could never have enough of this *coup d'œil*.

The whole of Brazil is a hot-house, and in consequence of its warm and damp temperature all the ground is rendered extremely fertile, being so suitable for plants and so hurtful to mankind. With the exception of the human race everything flourishes here, above all the insects, of which a large number are poisonous, among others the so-called *jigers*, which insinuate themselves under the finger-nails and toe-nails, leave their eggs there and breed to infinity unless one takes great care; and it is very difficult to extirpate them. The negroes are most clever in doing this, but cases of gangrene and even death are known as the result of careless operations. There is another insect called a *barate*, frequently found in houses, and a very disagreeable one; it is a little fly about an inch long whose bite is so sharp and quick that it draws blood immediately and leaves, for several days after, a swelling which is most painful before it subsides. Although I used to shut my windows and close my bed curtains as much as possible, I was covered with bites. During the night the noise made by millions of these insects was unbearable. There is one of a very curious kind, which I saw in Mr. Gordon's garden. It is about the size of a cricket and looks like one only it is grey. It eats the branches of trees to a depth of two inches in a very short time and as cleanly as one could cut with the sharpest saw. For this purpose it has two projecting teeth formed like hooks, which must be as sharp as steel to

enable it to do what it does in so short a time. Luckily it only attacks one kind of tree, otherwise it would soon ruin a whole garden. There is also a kind of very small ant, which if it gets into one's linen destroys a great quantity of it in a single night. On the other hand there are beautiful beetles, for instance the *imperialis* which looks as if it were encrusted with small emeralds; magnificent butterflies so big that they might be used as pocket-handkerchiefs. There are not many snakes in the environs of Rio Janeiro, although sometimes they are met with, and then one must beware. They never attack you of their own accord, but should you tread on them they will bite. In the interior of the country there are many, particularly in the north towards Pernambuco, where the rattlesnake and the boa-constrictor are found. In the forests of the interior, too, ounces—a sort of small tiger—are to be met with, but they say they are not very fierce.

Brazil abounds in the most beautiful birds of every kind, but they are only found in the interior. Humming birds can, however, be seen in the gardens of Rio itself where, just like bees, they feed on the honey in the flowers, flying round them ceaselessly. Mr. Gordon frequently showed me some in his garden. Could one have such a garden as his (here it is considered quite ordinary) in Europe one could make a fortune by showing it. All the hedges are composed of coffee-plants. Mr. Gordon possesses, too, a bread-fruit tree which just now is bearing. It has a beautiful leaf. The situation of his house overlooking the Bay of Botafogo is charming. One can see from his windows the mountains called The Sugar Loaf, the Corcovado, the Gabia, and the two Irmahos, all of them as picturesque as possible.

There is a great diversity in the numberless fruits in Rio. The chief are pine-apples, melons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, guavas, mangoes, and the fruit called vegetable butter. It looks like a large pear, peels easily, and the inside consists of a thick paste not bad to eat with pepper and salt. It tastes like a nut but is insipid. The banana is very common; the pine-apples are not much cultivated, I have eaten better in England; but on the other hand the melons

are delicious. It seems that in order to make them so they must be exposed to tropical sun, which we cannot have at home. The best fruit in my opinion here is the mango. Outside it looks like a great unshelled nut ; it has a large kernel and the meat or flesh surrounding this is of a deep orange colour. One should not cut it too near the kernel because this has a disagreeable taste like turpentine. One takes a few days to get used to this fruit because it is very strongly flavoured and has a rough taste, but one ends by liking it extremely. There is a vegetable which they call *palmitte* (pith of the palm) which is very delicate. It is the stalk of the young palm tree which dies immediately it is gathered. This vegetable resembles salsify. I have also eaten the bread-fruit which is roasted but has little flavour. One cannot sufficiently admire Providence which has thus indemnified the country where the heat does not allow wheat to grow, in giving it this equivalent.

The chief products of Brazil are the sugar-cane, coffee, rice, and in the north at Pernambuco cotton and coloured woods. Diamonds are found in the province of Minas and above all at Matto Grosso ; but they say that the expense of getting them makes it not worth while. Negroes are employed to find them. They are closely watched and if there is a suspicion that one of them has swallowed a diamond, he is kept apart and dosed with emetics. As the Crown owns the monopoly the sale of diamonds is forbidden, and those that are obtainable through smuggling are as dear here as in Europe. Gold dust is found in the province of Minas, and they are in hopes of discovering gold mines. Brazil is a regular El Dorado if they only knew how to work it properly. Its climate allows of all the products of the East and West Indies being cultivated, but to make the most of such resources requires a far more enlightened government than exists here. Above all good roads into the interior are necessary. They are the arteries of a country through which its riches should circulate.

It is true that labour is wanting and that the population is far out of proportion to the extent of the country, which is bounded by the Ogapoe in the north and Rio de la Plata in the south ; that is to say about 38° of latitude, while

the whole of Europe is hardly as large. There are not more than three millions of inhabitants, of which four-fifths are negroes and mulattos. The whites would find difficulty in cultivating the land, but they might undertake less difficult labour and leave the more arduous to the blacks and the half-castes who, they say, being born in the country and thus acclimatised can better withstand the heat of the sun. In the number of the population the Indians and the Boutoucondes are not included ; these live in the interior and are still in a savage state ; how many there are of them is not known. But in course of time by admixture with these a race might be created approximating to that called Guachis or Peons in the Pampas, who in consequence of their nomadic life possess extraordinary strength. These Peons have a wonderful facility in throwing the lasso. I have seen them at Rio bringing in savage mules which arrive in herds preceded by a little horse having a bell round its neck and following it peaceably enough. Then when the Peon wishes to catch one, he throws his lasso, often from a great distance, after having twirled it round above his head five or six times, and never fails to encircle the animal, which struggles violently but is soon over-powered.

In spite of all its richness and beauty the country is yet too far from the centre of civilization to form an agreeable abode. The overwhelming heat enervates and deadens the faculties. At the same time there are certain parts in the southern provinces, particularly Rio Grande, which are quite habitable. The founder of this Empire would have a great opportunity if he knew how to develop its resources. The ground is so productive that it is necessary rather to restrain than encourage its fertility. It is always offering infinite riches to those who can appreciate their value. Had I been able to remain three months in Brazil I should certainly have made an expedition into the interior ; but as it is I am quite pleased to leave, the climate being absolutely unbearable.

March 19th. We set sail at 5 o'clock in the morning with a gentle land breeze, which carried us smoothly outside the bay. After having passed the forts of Lage and

Santa Cruz, Captain Coghlan rejoined me in his launch and came on board to give me a final shake of the hand, together with Fries and one of his lieutenants, Mr. Fitzgerald. The good fellow had been true to himself down to the last minute.

The moment one sets out on such a voyage there is one thought that occurs most forcibly : the idea of being shut up for two months, exposed to the most fearful boredom, and to all sorts of *désagréments*, makes one shudder. I doubt if others feel such sensations in a like degree, for I notice that many begin a voyage of this kind with the utmost indifference.

March 21st. Suffered from sea-sickness for two days. To-day I am better, having had the patience to remain in bed. The wind has carried us into the 20° latitude, more towards the south. The vessel sails well and the captain seems to be an excellent fellow ; he does everything in his power to make himself agreeable.

March 24th. We have gone much out of our course. The wind carried us towards the 27° lat. south and 33° longitude east. The sea is calm, and since yesterday we have gained 1° of latitude. My sea-sickness has passed.

April 3rd. After having struggled for thirteen days against a north-east wind we have at last got a favourable breeze from the south-east, which has enabled us to resume our proper course. Doubled Cape St. Augustin, which lies at the extreme eastern point of Brazil. This enables us to double Cape St. Roch, which is practically at the extremity of the southern continent. Thus the greatest difficulties this side of the line have been overcome, if we are able to avoid being becalmed.

April 6th. Crossed the Line about 10 o'clock in the evening in spite of a calm which caught us at intervals since yesterday evening. The weather is heavy and rainy. A warm mist, similar to that which one experiences at Rio, descended on us. It penetrates everything, spoiling and rotting things if one is not careful. Iron, steel and embroidered articles are chiefly liable to be affected. All my razors, scissors and pen-knives were injured at Rio in this way.

To-day a young shark was caught; it was only four feet long, yet its strength was tremendous, particularly in its tail, with which it struck the deck with such force as to shake it. As it could easily break an arm or a leg by a single blow of its tail no time was lost in cutting it up. The sailors have no hesitation in eating this fish which but yesterday may have devoured one of their companions.

April 14th. A calm lasting five days, the last two especially being a dead calm. It is then that the vessel rolls most, as it does not answer to the rudder, having no way on it. Two *dorades*, which the English call dolphins, were caught to-day. They do not make bad eating, tasting rather like tunny-fish. The moment they are killed their skins assume the most beautiful colours possible, like a chameleon, violet, blue, red and golden yellow.

April 16th. Passed the sun in its zenith at the 10° of latitude north. At this point it is vertical, so that no observation can be taken, no point on the horizon being available as a *point d'appui*. Objects cast no shadows. It was the same with the last full moon, which was so exactly above our heads that our shadows were beneath our feet. The sky in the tropics is particularly fine. The moon, the stars and planets shed a far more brilliant light than they do with us. Jupiter has the effect of a little star and shines brilliantly through the purity of its light. The Southern Cross, which one loses on entering the tropic of Cancer, is a lovely constellation. These tropical nights would have been delicious at Rio if they had been tempered by a little coolness, but without that they were only magnificent to look at. One could not enjoy them as one can at sea where the breeze refreshes one. The heat of the Line is much exaggerated. I thought it less oppressive than at Rio. It is true that I have had time to get used to it through my experiences in Brazil, for coming out I was more troubled by it than I am on returning.

April 22nd. Met an English vessel making its way to the Antilles. The wind since the 14th has been most favourable. We have made 18° of latitude towards the north and to-day passed the tropic of Cancer, so that we are now outside the torrid zone. For the first time I feel

that we have passed into our own hemisphere, and for several days one begins to experience its effects, the temperature being much fresher.

April 25th. Hardly had we got out of the tropics than we were becalmed for twenty-four hours. It ended yesterday morning, and we were agreeably recompensed by a south-westerly wind which was what we wanted to reach the Azores. The current generally carries one to the north-west and sometimes it is necessary to go as far as the shore of Newfoundland in order to catch the west winds which bear one straight to Europe. We saw a great quantity of seaweed which the sailors call tropical grapes because it contains little berries. This weed gets detached from the rocks of the Bay of Bahamas and is carried here by the currents, although the distance is 700 leagues.

April 27th. The sea having been very rough and the wind very strong, I felt sea-sick, but it was chiefly brought on by want of appetite and lack of sleep. The rolling of the ship during the last few days has prevented my getting any rest. We were suddenly becalmed in the night, having been going at the rate of 9 to 10 knots during the day. This morning the wind got up, but very gently. We are still 260 leagues from the Azores, which we hope to reach on Monday or Tuesday.

May 1st. Yesterday afternoon we arrived at Pico, one of the Azores. Although we were not far off the mist prevented us from seeing it and we could hardly distinguish the peak, which is 12,000 feet¹ high, among the clouds. To-day at 6.30 a.m. Tercera could be clearly distinguished. Angra the capital only being about two leagues away, one could see its houses and the church, which looks as if it were part of a convent; perhaps it is the same as the one mentioned by M. de Sécur in his memoirs. The land on the island appears well cultivated. St. Michel, situated more to the south, is the principal island in this group; then Fayel, St. Maria, Flores and Graciosa. They say the climate of them is excellent. Tropical plants grow there and the oranges of St. Michel are famous.

The deep blue of the sea ceased the day before yesterday.

¹ It is actually only about 7600 feet high.

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This is always the case when one is at a certain distance from land. If the wind is favourable we ought to be at Brest in eight or ten days; we are now 420 leagues from it. The Captain was anxious to get to the top of one of these islands in order to make sure of the longitude by his chronometer; and after a voyage of forty-two days from Rio there was found to be a difference of only three leagues. This rectification will enable us to make a direct route to Brest.

May 4th. Again we have been becalmed and in consequence have only made 20 leagues since yesterday. It is when one has nearly reached the end of a voyage that one becomes irritated at the least delay. Yesterday morning we passed close to a merchant brig. We asked her, by firing a cannon, to display her flag. As she made no response we fired again, this time with shot across her bows, and had she still refused to show her colours we should have sent another shot into her hull. However, presently she ran up the American flag. This is what is called 'policing the high seas,' in order to make sure that piracy is not being carried on.

May 9th. After an excellent north-west wind, which gave hopes of our entering Brest to-day, we were again becalmed, the wind changing to the north-east, the worst we could encounter. Although we are now only 40 leagues from Brest it may be several days before we can make it. Nothing tries one's patience so much as such irritating delays at the close of a voyage. The weather is fresh, almost cold, and when one is returning from a warm climate one feels it the more.

May 10th. At last we came in sight of the roadstead at Brest at 9 o'clock in the evening, and were prepared to ride at anchor all night, the entrance to the harbour being strewn with several dangerous rocks, when a pilot suddenly put in an appearance and enabled us to enter the bay, where we cast anchor at 11.30 o'clock. The quarantine being very severe in France, we could not disembark until a sanitary commission had made an exhaustive examination of the whole ship.

May 11th. The sanitary authorities arrived early and

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put us through the usual questions. The officer gave us to understand that we should not be kept in quarantine, and so it was, for at mid-day we had permission to go on shore.

Admiral Duperie, the Maritime Prefect residing at Brest, sent his aide-de-camp to compliment me on my happy arrival, and to invite me to his house. I went to pay my respects to him directly I had landed, and no one could have been more civil than he was to me. Once in his house he would not allow me to go elsewhere. I left that night between 11 and 12 o'clock for Paris, after having inspected the Port of Brest, one of the finest in France.

SECTION V

DIARY FROM MAY 1827 TO DECEMBER 1830

May 16th. Arrived at Paris at 4 o'clock in the morning, having taken three days to cover the 150 leagues from Brest to the capital. It was very cold, and coming from the torrid zone I suffered considerably. I learnt on arriving in Europe that a report had spread about that the frigate *La Forte* on which I sailed to Brazil had been lost with all hands after leaving Madeira. All the newspapers mentioned the circumstance, and great interest was excited by it. I was able to realise by this how many sincere friends I possessed.

Six days later Neumann set out for Vienna, where he arrived on May 30th. He was received by Prince Metternich in a friendly way, although, as he says, 'he was not altogether satisfied with my mission.' However, Viennese society continued to give him a flattering reception, and we find him being entertained on all hands, hardly a day passing without his being invited to dine out or to go to some of the country houses owned by the great Austrian nobles and others, such as the Duchess of Wurtemburg and the English Ambassador. Lord Hertford¹ was in Vienna at this moment, having arrived from St. Petersburg, and Neumann saw a good deal of him. For instance, he meets him at dinner at the English Embassy on August 3rd and again on the following day at Prince Metternich's.

Aug. 4th. Big dinner at Prince Metternich's in honour of Lord Hertford, there being present the Papal Nuncio, the Neapolitan Minister, Prince Cassero and his family, the Princess Tricase, the Countess Statelle, &c. From there we went to see Ambras's collection of armour, one of the most remarkable in the world, each piece having once belonged

¹ This was the third Marquess, husband of Maria Fagniani, who had succeeded to the title five years previously.

to an historic personage. We also saw a number of other curiosities, such as the genealogical tree of the Hapsburgs, portraits of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian, and some lovely *objets d'art*, among them the famous salt cellar made by Benvenuto Cellini which he mentions in his memoirs.

On August 6th Neumann left Vienna for Prague, which, by the way, he considered a much finer place as a capital than Vienna, and went on to Carlsbad, where he arrived on the 9th, reaching his destination, Konigswarth, on the following day. There he remained ten days, during which he took part in a stag-hunt, saw Gentz who had arrived on the 12th, heard of the death of Canning which had occurred at Chiswick at 3.30 p.m. on the 8th, and went out shooting with Prince Victor Metternich and Count Pepi Esterhazy, bringing back a brace of quail and a brace of partridges as the whole bag !

On August 16th he accompanies Prince Metternich and a party to Marienbad, 'Examining all the springs, of which there are many, chiefly ferruginous' Three days later he sets out with Count Pepi Esterhazy for Carlsbad. Neumann was nothing if not a sightseer, and accordingly we find him noting carefully the curiosities of the neighbourhood.

Aug. 19th. Saw at Eger a collection of medals and other objects formed by the local executioner, and the old castle, where there is a very curiously constructed chapel supposed to date from the time of the Templars. Visited the house and the room in which Wallenstein was assassinated by Butler and Gordon. It is now inhabited by the Burgo-master. The lance with which Wallenstein was killed is shown in the Hotel de Ville ; but one is also exhibited in the Castle of Dux !

The next day he dines with Prince Metternich and his son, who were on their way to Dresden, and on the 22nd he makes an excursion to the Castle of Schlackenworth 'belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and destined to become the property of the young Duc de Reichstadt.'¹ On August 27th Metternich returned from Dresden.

Aug. 27th. Dined with the Prince at the Salle de Saxe, where the Poles gave a ball in the evening. I met again

¹ The son of Napoleon I. He was at this time just sixteen. He died in 1832. He was, of course, the King of Rome and the 'Aiglon' of Rostand's play.

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many whom I had known in Warsaw in 1812-13, among others MM. Kicki, Szidlocki and Badeni. There was also there a very pretty Madame Stablewska, on whose account two Poles fought a duel. One was killed, the other wounded, and in order to be true to the proverb, she married a third.

After having remained at Carlsbad till September 13th, Neumann left for Vienna under instructions from Prince Metternich, in order to meet there Commander Pereira, who had just arrived from Brazil. During the remainder of his stay at Carlsbad nothing of moment is recorded in the Diary, except that Dom Pedro had named his brother Dom Miguel¹ regent of Portugal, and that the Duke of Coburg² and Prince Leiningen arrived on a visit to Prince Metternich; while the annoyance of Prince Victor Metternich on learning that his father was on the eve of a second marriage without having communicated the fact to him is also recorded.

Sept. 15th. Arrived at Vienna. Everyone astonished to see me back. Missed Commander Pereira, who had gone to Königswarth.

Sept. 22nd. I have now seen Commander Pereira, who repeated to me what he had told Prince Metternich: that no one could have fulfilled the mission to Brazil better than I had done; that I had prepared the result of which he brought the news, that is to say, the nomination of Dom Miguel as Regent of Portugal, that without me he (Pereira) would not have been in Europe. Dined at Prince Dietrichstein's with his family and Gentz.

Sept. 23rd. Dined at the English Ambassador's with Lord and Lady Stanhope.³ Passed the evening at Madame Leykam's, who told me that Lebzeltern had again attacked the Prince (Metternich) at Weinzierl about his marriage, that the latter had been very annoyed, and suspected me or Tatischeff of having informed Lebzeltern of certain

¹ Dom Miguel, of whom we shall hear so much in the Diary, was the third son of John VI. of Portugal by Charlotte of Spain. He was born in 1802 and died in 1866. He was leader of the absolutist party; was expelled from Portugal in 1824; became Regent in 1828, and usurped the Kingdom in that year till 1834, when he was deposed.

² Ernest I. Father of Prince Albert. He was born in 1784, and died in 1845.

³ Philip Henry, 5th Earl, b. 1781, d. 1855; his wife was daughter of Lord Carrington. Lord Stanhope, the historian, was their son.

circumstances which he could not have known but through us.

Sept. 24th. Prince Metternich arrived from the Emperor's. Someone who wants to do me harm has calumniated me to the Emperor, His Majesty having asked Metternich (in an autograph letter) if I had not gone beyond my instructions in my mission to Brazil.

Sept. 25th. Dined at Prince Metternich's with Bombelles. The conversation after dinner turned on his stay with the Emperor (of Austria) at Weinzierl and the patriarchal way in which he lives. Had a talk with Lebzeltern who told me that the Prince and he had explained to the Emperor that I had not overstepped my instructions in Brazil ; that I had only promised my good offices with regard to the arrival of Dom Miguel in that country ; and that in the meanwhile I had obtained for him the immense advantage of reinstating him in the good graces of his brother Dom Pedro and had succeeded in extorting the promise of the Regency in his favour.

The Diary for the next two or three weeks records little of interest. The entries are nearly all concerned with dinner engagements at which Neumann met as usual the most important people in Vienna, whose names, however, are the only things he sets down. Here and there he notes going to the play, as when he sees at the Leopoldstadt *The Millionaire*, then in its eighty-first performance 'and as crowded as on its first,' and when he goes to the Wieden Theatre to witness Stabert's *Reise Abentheuer*. There are hints of much political activity going on with regard to the Portuguese *imbroglio*, and at one conference on the subject at Prince Metternich's 'the Portuguese plenipotentiaries brought the reply of the Infante, who obstinately refuses to go to Portugal by way of England, and does not wish to arrive there except in a Portuguese vessel,' on which Neumann the next day records significantly : 'Resolution of the Emperor to speak seriously to Dom Miguel.'

Oct. 12th. Dined with the Marquis de Rezende, the Brazilian Minister, to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of his sovereign. The Infante Dom Miguel was not there, the Emperor having invited him ; neither was Prince Metternich, he being prevented by a swelling in his left eye ; nor the Russian Ambassador, who had sprained his foot.

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Oct. 13th. Prince Metternich not being able to go to see the Emperor, Count Mercy went instead, and His Majesty told him that the Infante had declared to him last evening that he would only embark on a Portuguese vessel, and that nothing that was said could alter his decision.

Oct. 14th. Conference at Prince Metternich's where it was arranged that he should make another attempt to alter Dom Miguel's decision. After having exhausted every argument in order to induce the Prince to sail to Lisbon by way of England, the latter gave way through the grief they said it would cause the Emperor if he did not do so. Left for Eisenstadt with Villa Real, where we found Prince Gustavus of Sweden, the Infante Miguel, the English Ambassador and his son, Count Francis Zichy, Pepi Esterhazy, Leykam, Kaiserfeld and M. Polier.

Oct. 15th. Shooting party. We killed 882 head of game. My bag was 44. Had a conversation with Dom Miguel, who cannot convey his ideas very clearly, and as it is they are anything but ripe ones.

Oct. 16th. Shooting hinds. We got 97 head, of which I killed 4. Returned to Vienna for a conference which took place at 8 o'clock at Prince Metternich's. These visits to Eisenstadt are expensive. One gives the head keeper 3 ducats, the house-keeper (*Schloss-verwalter*) 7 florins; 2 florins a day to the loaders, and to the servants and valet 6 florins each.

Oct. 17th. Dined with Prince Metternich, who told me that as soon as the Brazilian affair was finished, the Emperor would give marks of his satisfaction to Prince Paul and to me. The Prince added that the matter had turned out very satisfactorily; that it was obvious that I had done very well in Brazil, and that I could not have done more. I told the Prince that I had a favour to ask of him and it was that I should not be obliged to remain in England; that I had no ambitions or indiscreet motive, and that I only asked for a similar position to the one I occupied in London. The Prince replied in a really paternal tone of kindness that I should leave the matter in his hands and that he would look after me; that indeed he owed as much to me in return for the zeal I had shown



KLEMENS LOTHAR WENZL, PRINCE METTERNICH

b. 1773, d. 1859

From a drawing by Anton Graff at Dresden

in his service and the intelligence which I had displayed, and besides that he looked upon me as a son ; that I was indeed one of his particular friends, and that he would prove it to me. He embraced me and left me overwhelmed with gratitude and emotion.

Oct. 18th. I was present at a Conference where the letters which the Infante was to write to the Emperor his brother, the King of England, and his sister the Regent, were read. It was arranged that he should assume the title of Regent with that of Lieutenant.

Oct. 20th. A Conference was held when the protocols relating to the departure of the Infante were read. The English Ambassador produced a letter from Lord Granville announcing that the Princess of Beira was exciting the Portuguese refugees to a movement for the overthrow of the Constitution before the Infante should arrive in Portugal. It was arranged that His Royal Highness was to write to the King of Spain informing him of his elevation to the Regency, and begging him to protect the refugees of his party.

Oct. 23rd. Had an audience with the Emperor who received me with special kindness. He discussed Eastern affairs with me in great detail, as well as my mission to Brazil. He asked me if I had not gone rather too far with the Emperor Dom Pedro in promising to send Dom Miguel to Brazil. I answered him that it was not so ; that I had only promised to use my best endeavours in the matter ; and I pointed out the motives and reasons for my not having acted otherwise. The Emperor had an idea that I had overstepped my instructions and put several questions to me concerning this, but with a singular air of kindness and friendliness. Finally he told me that I had always served him well and that I had often conducted matters in England very adroitly without creating difficult situations ; that he was very satisfied with me and would give me proof of it. He dismissed me in so affectionate a way that I was deeply touched.

Dined with Prince Metternich, to whom I related my interview with the Emperor. He said he was not surprised at the friendly reception he had given me, for he

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knew he had a great regard for me. I left Vienna at midnight.

Neumann after having, as we see, thoroughly set himself right with the Emperor and Prince Metternich, now departed again for England. We need not follow his itinerary, especially as the entries in the Diary are restricted to the places where he lunched and dined on his way and the times at which he partook of these meals. At Stuttgart he saw the sculptor Danecker and had time to examine two of his works, a 'Christ' and a 'St. John,' the former of which he preferred. He arrived in Paris at 4 p m. on the 30th, very tired after a seven days' journey. There he remained three days, seeing the Standishes, going to Neuilly, where he was received most cordially as usual by the Orleans family, and in the evening witnessing *La Sonnambula*, in which he found Madame Montégue 'inimitable.' The next evening he dined with Rothschild to meet Prince Louis de Rohan, and on November 2nd, after dining with Count Apponyi, he went to the Gymnase to see a play called *Le Diplomate*, in which Gouthier was making a hit; and at midnight he set out for England, arriving in London at 12.30 p m. on November 4th. His first few days here were occupied at the Embassy in gathering up the dropped threads of his work and in seeing old friends.

Nov. 6th. Saw Lord Dudley,¹ who seemed very satisfied by the way in which the affair of Dom Miguel had been handled at Vienna. Dined with him and met Lieven and Palmella.

Nov. 11th. News arrived that the combined fleets had destroyed the Turkish-Egyptian forces of seventy-six warships in the Bay of Navarino. The allies had only twenty-six men-of-war. They suffered severely and three English vessels were put out of action.

This refers, of course, to the famous action fought on October 20th in which the English, French and Russian fleets, invited to protect Greece, entered the harbour of Navarino under the command of Sir Edward Codrington and annihilated the Turco-Egyptian fleet. The results of this, in so far as they come under Neumann's purview, are recorded in the following entries:

Nov. 20th. The anxiety as to the result of the Battle of Navarino continues. The funds have dropped nearly 3 francs.

¹ 1st Earl of Dudley. Died in December 1835. He had succeeded the 4th Viscount Dudley in 1823. (See also p. 269.)

Nov. 26th. Received news from Constantinople dated November 5th. The news of Navarino had then been known for four days yet everything is quiet there.

Nov. 27th. Arrival of the courier Leyden confirming the news of the public tranquillity in Constantinople, but the Divan has as yet taken no final step as a result of Navarino.

Nov. 28th. Visited the Duke of Wellington who received me in the most friendly way, embracing me and showing the pleasure he had in seeing me again.

Dec. 1st. Count Buol left for Vienna. Received news from Constantinople of the 10th Nov., announcing that the Sultan had sought the mediation of Austria, but in the meanwhile on receipt of the news that General Church,¹ aide-de-camp to Lord Cochrane,² had made a landing in the Island of Scio, he had been so exasperated that he announced that diplomatic relations with the representatives of the three allied powers would be broken off until an explanation of this new incident had been received. He has placed an embargo on all foreign vessels and has raised the standard of Mahomet.

Dec. 4th. The English Government has received news, dated the 12th of November, from Constantinople saying that the Turkish Government has broken off its relations with the three allies and has refused passports to their couriers.

Here and there the same subject is referred to, but the remaining entries for December are of a varied character and, except where they are only bare records of engagements, may be given in full as more or less explaining themselves.

Dec. 6th. Dined at the Elliotts' and went with them, their sister Lady Hyslop, and Lady McFarlane, to Drury Lane. The opera *Isidore and Merida*³ was performed, in which Mrs. Farren sang. She has a fine soprano voice, but shows more art than expression.

¹ Sir Richard Church, b. 1784, d. 1873. For long a military commander in the Greek service.

² Afterwards 10th Earl of Dundonald, 1775-1860. A noted naval commander.

³ The original music was by Storace, but new airs had been introduced by Cooke and Braham.

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Dec. 7th. The Ministerial papers attack Austria sharply over the Eastern affair and are trying to make us responsible for the resistance of the Porte, saying that we counselled it to take up this attitude as far back as October ; an atrocious falsehood and a Machiavellian point of view without parallel, of which the Whig party in the Cabinet are making use in order to excuse themselves for the puerilities into which the trilateral treaty has led them.

Dec. 8th. The papers such as *The Courier* and *The Times* continue to attack us, but on the other hand *The Chronicle* and *The Globe* defend us.

Dec. 9th. The Ministers are at loggerheads. The Whig party wishes to push things to extremities with the Porte, whilst the more moderate party opposes this ; unfortunately the latter is composed only of the Marquess of Anglesey, Lord Bexley and Mr. Herries.

Dec. 12th. The courier Rettich arrived but only with news from Constantinople down to the 11th *ultimo*. The Turks demand that interference between them and their revolted subjects shall cease ; that an indemnity for the destruction of their fleet at Navarino shall be paid, and reparation made for the offence. The Ministers of the three Powers have refused these demands, but down to the departure of the courier nothing had been said about their leaving Constantinople.

Dec. 14th. *The Times* and *The Courier* continue their attacks against us. The inspiration of these articles is said to be due to Lord Howard de Walden, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Dec. 15th. The English Ministry is approaching a break-up. The Premier, Lord Goderich,¹ wants to resign.

Dec. 19th. Lord Goderich has handed his resignation to the King, but not having been able to fill his place by Lord Holland, whom the King would not have, or Lord Harrowby, who refused, he has been obliged to remain in office for the time at least.

Dec. 24th. News has arrived from Constantinople dated November 28th announcing that the Porte insisted on reparation and an indemnity for the insult done to its flag

¹ He had been created Viscount Goderich in this year. See note on p. 93.

and for the loss of the fleet at Navarino. In consequence the three Ambassadors have demanded their passports.

Dec. 29th. News received that Admiral Derigny had destroyed the Greek squadron at Scio.

Dec. 30th. Arrival of Dom Miguel. He disembarked at Greenwich, where he was received by the Duke of Clarence and Lord Mount Charles, with detachments of the horse and foot guards. He was escorted by these into town, in the King's carriages.

Dined with the Duke of Wellington. Madame de Lieven had been to see him in order to exchange the document of which I was the depositary. He told me that they did not talk at all on political matters, and that they have not done so since M. de Lieven was at the Duke's house one day this spring, to try to persuade him that the treaty which Russia, France and England were entering upon for the pacification of Greece, was based on the protocol of April 4th, 1826, which the Duke denied, reminding M. de Lieven of the actual words of the Emperor Nicholas, who declared that he would never be willing to make war against the Greeks.

1828

The first half of January is chiefly occupied, so far as the Diary is concerned, with the affairs of the Infante Miguel who, as we have seen, arrived in England on December 30th and who went to Windsor on the following day. Neumann first, however, tells us of his own doings on New Year's Day.

Jan. 1st. The first day of the year in England is like any other, neither visits nor good wishes being *de rigueur*. Christmas Day and the week after is more particularly the time for family gatherings and country house parties. For my part I went to the pantomime at Drury Lane, which is chiefly remarkable for the beauty of the scenery. It is called *Cock Robin*; that at Covent Garden, *The Giant of the Mountain*, is represented still more elaborately, among other things there being a moving panorama of the Battle of Navarino. The staging of these pantomimes alone costs generally between eight and nine thousand pounds.

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Jan. 2nd. Reception at the Duke of Clarence's for the Infante, who had dined there.

Jan. 3rd. Ball at the Austrian Embassy for the Infante, who danced indefatigably and did it very well. The Government have received news that the Russian Ambassador left Constantinople on the 4th of December and those of England and France on the 8th. The first has gone to Odessa, the second to Smyrna, and the third to Toulon.

Jan. 5th. Dinner at Itabayana's, the Brazilian Minister, for the Infante. I saw Lord Strangford, who told me that Lord Bexley greatly feared that the troubles in the Levant would do much harm to the dissemination of the Bible in those parts. Thorough Minister as he is, Lord Bexley never forgets that he is one of the most active leaders of the Methodists, known in Parliament as 'Dissenters.'

The Infante Miguel was extensively entertained during his short stay here; for besides the hospitalities mentioned, he dined at the Austrian Embassy where he had a talk with Neumann concerning his projects for Portugal, Madame de Lieven gave a ball in his honour, where Lord Holland was present, although, writes the Diarist, 'six weeks ago no Russian ambassador would be in the same room with him'; and the Marquis de Palmella also gave a dance for him. But other topics claim longer notices in the Diary.

Jan. 9th. The Ministry is dissolved. The Duke of Wellington has been summoned to Windsor to-day and has been asked to form a new administration. The Duke requires a few days in order to make arrangements.

Jan. 10th. The Duke of Wellington has summoned Mr. Peel. The reason for the dissolution of the Ministry is a quarrel between Mr. Herries¹ and Mr. Huskisson,² the latter having formed in despite of the other a financial council presided over by Lord Althorp.³

Jan. 12th. The Thames Tunnel has given way, and as a result six people have been killed.⁴

¹ Rt. Hon. J. C. Herries, Chancellor of the Exchequer. See note on p. 194.

² William Huskisson, b. 1770, d. 1830. He was Colonial Secretary, 1827-29. He was accidentally killed on the railway on Sept. 15th, 1830 (see p. 223).

³ Lord Althorp, afterwards 3rd Earl Spencer. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1830-1834. b. 1782, d. 1845 (See also p. 241.)

⁴ It had been begun in 1825 and this inundation closed it for some seven years, work on it being recommenced in 1835.

Jan. 20th. The *personnel* of the new Ministry has not yet been published, although it is known that the Duke of Wellington will be premier and that Mr. Huskisson and Lord Dudley will retain their posts.

Jan. 26th. The new Ministry is completed. The old Tories are not pleased that Mr. Huskisson forms part of it, while the Whigs, and Mrs. Canning particularly, reproach him with apostasy. The latter has written him an amusing letter accusing him of having betrayed the friendship he owed to the memory of her husband.

Jan. 29th. Opening of Parliament. The King's Speech contains expressions of regret at the necessity which led to the Battle of Navarino but also praise for Admiral Codrington.

Jan. 30th. Dined at Lord Gwydyr's¹ with Lord and Lady Jersey and Lady Euston.² Lord Stewart, who stayed four days at Windsor with the King, tells me that His Majesty had said to him that after all England's best ally was Austria, that the country had been led into error with regard to Russia, and that he clearly foresaw that it would one day be called upon to fight the Colossus, as it had already fought France. Prince Esterhazy told me that the Editor of *The Courier*, who on December 28th had retracted his conduct under the administration which had just been overthrown, had offered to furnish the present one with all the documents and letters of Mr. Canning which the latter had edited with his own hand, if his journal might be allowed to remain the mouthpiece of the Government; an offer which has not been accepted. This is a triumph for me, for when *The Courier* launched its attacks against us six months ago and I asserted that it had been bought by the existing government, Prince Esterhazy would never admit it.

Among the entries for February of this year (1828) the chief is the one immediately following, although there are two which indicate

¹ Peter Robert Burrell, 2nd Lord Gwydyr, who in the December of this year succeeded his brother as 19th Lord Willoughby d'Eresby. He was born in 1782 and died in 1865

² Wife of Lord Euston, afterwards 5th Duke of Grafton, and *née* Miss Mary Berkeley, daughter of Admiral the Hon. Sir G. C. Berkeley.

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Madame de Lieven's characteristic methods of refusing a snub and of trying to insinuate herself into the movements of the moment.

Feb. 12th. Yesterday an interesting debate took place in the House of Lords. Lord Carnarvon¹ brought forward a motion asking for the instructions which had been given to Admiral Codrington. Lord Dudley and the Duke of Wellington announced on this occasion that their intention had been to execute, in its spirit and to the letter, the treaty of July 6th. Two months ago the Duke was preparing to attack this treaty and the Navarino episode, and hoped by this to overthrow the late Ministry! The recent speech of Mr. Huskisson at Liverpool, in which he had announced that his entry into the present Ministry had been the result of guarantees furnished him by the Duke to the effect that his views on domestic and foreign commercial affairs, that is to say such as were held by Mr. Canning, would be followed, was discussed. The Duke denied this, saying that Mr. Huskisson could not have used this language as no guarantees had been given. Lord Lansdowne also raised the question on certain portions of Mr. Huskisson's speech. On the whole it appears that the latter is in a delicate position with all parties. Lord Carnarvon's motion was rejected.

Feb. 15th. An evening party at the Duchess of Kent's, where Madame de Lieven went up to the Duke of Wellington and, taking him by the hand, said: 'My dear Duke, do come and see us.' She would not let him go and forced a conversation on him from which he could not extricate himself.

Feb. 18th. Dined at M. de Falck's² with the Princesse de Polignac,³ the Palmellas, Esterhazy, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Dudley. Madame de Lieven wrote to the Duke asking him to visit her: he had not done so since he was head of the Government. He was there one Sunday, and Madame de Lieven told everyone that he had been to see her, without saying a word about the letter she had written him.

¹ The 2nd Earl, *b.* 1772, *d.* 1833.

² Baron Falck, Dutch Minister at St. James's. See references to him in both Greville and Raikes.

³ Wife of Charles X.'s Minister.

Feb. 24th. Sent the courier Dörr to Vienna with the Duke of Wellington's reply to Russia relative to the Eastern question. This differs materially from the proposals made by Russia and France. The former favoured an immediate occupation of the Principalities by a passage of the Pruth and the pressing on of operations to the very walls of Constantinople ; the second agreed to the occupation of the Principalities and the blockade of the ports of the Morea and the Dardanelles ; whilst the British Government refers the matters to the terms of the protocol, proposing the carrying out of the objects which that act had in view.

The entries for March and April are as a rule short ones, and there are not many of them, the most interesting and significant being the following :

March 1st. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's with the Belfasts, the Arbuthnots, &c. Everyone is talking of the reply of Lady Stewart to Madame de Lieven. The latter told the former that she seemed to grow younger, and asked what she did to avoid becoming thin : ' You see, I am not an ambassadress,' replied Lady Stewart.

March 12th. A Russian courier arrived yesterday from St. Petersburg, bringing the news of the Emperor's intention to occupy the Principalities, and that orders had been issued to this effect. The excuse is the failure (of the Turks) to execute the Treaty of Ackjerman.

March 17th. Prince Felix Schwarzenberg¹ arrived from Lisbon, where affairs are turning out badly ; the Infante Dom Miguel is falling again under the influence of his mother.

March 18th. News from Lisbon of the 12th instant announces that the Infante, in spite of the promises which he made at Vienna, is following a system which will before long upset the existing state of things.

From this date to April 8th Neumann has little of importance to record, a few dinner parties and a Levée when the King told him he was sorry not to have seen him for so long, with the coming and going of couriers and so forth, are all that are set down, and these

¹ An Austrian statesman, b. 1800, d. 1852. He was Prime Minister from 1848-52.

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without further comment. On April 8th there was a dinner at the Austrian Embassy.

April 8th. Dinner party, consisting of the Ellenboroughs, Lady Fitzroy Somerset, Alvanley, H. Greville, the Countess St. Antonio, and Mdlle. Sontag, who sang three times. Her voice, which is wonderfully flexible, skims over the greatest difficulties rather than overcomes them. It lacks the Italian character (*portamento*) and is only suitable for *opera bouffe*.

Neumann was a rather severe musical critic, and one would hardly judge from this remark how great a reputation Henrietta Sontag attained. She was at this time about twenty-three, and two years later on her marriage retired from the operatic stage. She subsequently, however, resumed her career, which was one of unbroken success, and died in Mexico in 1854. Among the other guests we observe the names of Lord Alvanley, the famous wit and man about town, and Henry Greville, the brother of Charles, who also left a diary and was noted for his knowledge of and devotion to music. On May 2nd we find Neumann dining at Alvanley's, the others invited being the Duke of Argyle, Lord Sefton, Lord Howe, the son of the Duc de Fitzjames, and Montrond. Sefton was, of course, the well-known gourmet of whom Gronow and other contemporary chroniclers have so much to say; while Montrond was the intimate friend of Talleyrand to whom so many references are made by Raikes in his diary, where, too, is mentioned the Duc de Fitzjames's son 'sentenced to three months imprisonment for some childish Carlist demonstration at Rouen some time ago.'¹

May 3rd. Saw the comedy called *The Inconstant*² at Covent Garden, in which Charles Kemble played admirably.

May 7th. Received news from Lisbon that the crown had been offered to Dom Miguel who, without having absolutely accepted it, has not definitely refused it.

May 21st. Party at Deepdene, Mr. Hope's, where there were Lord and Lady Gwydyr, Lady Tankerville, Lady Westmeath, and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney.

May 22nd. Went to Epsom to see a match between the horses The Colonel and Cadlan, which had to be ridden again as it resulted in a dead heat. On the second occasion

¹ Raikes' *Diary* for April 19th, 1834.

² *The Inconstant, or The Way to win Him*, by Farquhar, first produced in 1702 It is founded on Fletcher's *Wild Goose Chase*.

Cadlan won. It was one of the best races seen for a long time. The winner belonged to the Duke of Rutland.

May 23rd. Again to the races. Turquoise, a mare belonging to the Duke of Grafton, won. Returned to town and dined with Lord Londonderry.

May 24th. Dined with Sir John Beckett where the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord and Lady Lonsdale were among the guests. The chief topic of conversation during the last few days has been the withdrawal of Mr. Huskisson and Lord Palmerston from the Government, both of whom recently voted against Ministers in the matter of the election for East Bedford.

May 26th. A Gala Ball was given by the King. There were about four hundred present. The same evening it was announced that Mr. Huskisson, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Lamb,¹ Secretary of State for Ireland, had received their dismissals. Sir George Murray, the military commander, replaces Mr. Huskisson.

May 30th. A partial change of Ministry has taken place, Sir George Murray at the Colonial Office and Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office being the principal. Madame de Lieven, regretting the retirement of the Ministers, remarked to the Duke of Cumberland that it was preparing a strong opposition against the present administration, on which the Duke observed that they would turn out the House of Commons; to which she replied: 'But if the new one is no better, what will become of the House of Hanover?' on which the Duke turned his back on her.

During the first three weeks of June little occurred which Neumann thought worth while recording. A dinner with Sir Roger Gresley,² where he met Prince Leopold, the departure of Palmella for Oporto to join the Junto formed in opposition to Dom Miguel's government, and dinners on the 20th and 22nd at the Austrian Embassy in honour of the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, respectively, make up the bulk of the entries for this period.

June 23rd. The *début* of Mdlle. Mars at the Grand Opera. She played the parts of Hortense in *L'Ecole des*

¹ Afterwards Lord Melbourne.

² 8th Baronet, b. 1799, d. 1837. He married a daughter of the 7th Earl of Coventry.

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Vieillards, and Valerie with a perfection that makes one forget her age.¹ She has no equal in portraying sentimental character. She was applauded with remarkable enthusiasm.

June 25th. The English Government has recognised the blockade of Oporto; while disavowing the action of Dom Miguel it recognises in it the exercise of illegal authority—a singular anomaly.

June 26th. News has been received that the Russians passed the Danube on June 7th.

June 30th. A fancy dress ball at Lady Londonderry's, where among other things the Court of Queen Elizabeth was represented. Lady Londonderry was the Queen, who could certainly never have been more richly dressed. Although it was the finest thing of the kind I have ever seen, they say it was not equal to the one given in Vienna by the English Ambassador. The Duke of Cambridge, who was present at Lady Londonderry's, demanded the right of a prince of the blood to embrace the Queen, which Lady Londonderry permitted with much grace.

July 5th. Went by river to Woolwich and dined at Greenwich with the Falcks, the McFarlanes, the Miss Elliotts and the new Swedish Minister, the Count Björnstjerna. The day was beautiful. At Woolwich we saw a battery of artillery manoeuvre with great precision. The artillermen are mounted, and get off their horses to work the guns, with great rapidity. While they are doing this their horses are held by other mounted men.

July 9th. Dined at Mrs. Purves's with the Speaker, who told me that Mr. O'Connell,² a Roman Catholic, who had just been elected a Member of Parliament for County Clare in Ireland, would not be allowed to take his seat.

July 12th. Went to consult the celebrated Mdlle. Lenormant,³ who has come over from Paris. She began

¹ This famous actress was then only forty-nine, but people became older than they do now, as witness the cases of Sarah Bernhardt and Dame Ellen Terry. A later entry in the Diary (April 2nd, 1847) records her death.

² The famous Daniel O'Connell, b. 1775, d. 1847.

³ This once famous clairvoyant wrote her memoirs, in which will be found many remarkable predictions. See, too, Raikes' *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 82, 126 and 143.



MDLLE MARS
(ANNE FRANÇOISE HIPPOLYTE BOUTEL-MONVEL)

b 1779. *d* 1847

Engraved by F. Lignon from a painting by F. Gérard, dated 1814

by asking me my age, the first letter of my Christian name, and the town in which I was born ; what animal I liked best and what least, and the colour of my favourite flower. Then she felt my head according to Gall's¹ system, examining carefully the organs of cunning and physical love, of anger and homicide and of theft, all of which make up the intellectual part of man ; then my hand. She told me that I should receive from about now to the 15th of August or 1st of September a reply to something which I was awaiting with the greatest impatience and which would probably make me decide on a journey. (It is true that I had written to Vienna on June 15th asking to be allowed to leave this country.) Something remarkable is to happen to me in 1830, and from then to 1833 extraordinary events ; my life is to be most active from now to the age of 55. I shall become the chief of something. I shall marry and have children. I am destined one day to play a conspicuous part ; I shall one day sign a document or an act which will be much discussed. I shall do some service to a lady, who on her part will do me a greater by saving my life, but in a foreign country. I am destined one day to make a very long voyage, I have already travelled considerably. My character is resolute, firm, very quick, and ambitious. Without being a courtier I like to rule and don't like being ruled, nevertheless I cannot resist those who do so from good motives. I possess a great facility for judging character while it is difficult to fathom my own. I can keep a secret and I have been trusted with some very important ones. I can give good advice, and my first judgment of a matter is always a good one. I shall fall into the water, but my life will be a long one. To crown the whole she told me, among other things, that I had already been married, which upset all the credit I should have liked to give to the other delightful predictions.

Although Mdlle. Lenormant made a bad slip at the close of her statement, yet taking it by and large it is a clever prediction of Neumann's actions (as will be seen by a reference to the Introduction), and is not, so far as one can gather from the Diary, a bad summary of the chief points in his character and endowments.

¹ The founder of phrenology, b. 1758, d. 1828

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July 14th. Received news that Dom Miguel has accepted the crown and that his troops entered Oporto on the 3rd of June without meeting with the least resistance from the Constitutional army. The Diplomatic Corps have quitted Lisbon, and the Count Bombelles has already arrived in England.

July 19th. Having a bad cold, I went to join Princess Esterhazy at Salt Hill for a change of air, and made an expedition with her and her children to Clifden (Cliveden), a delightful place owing to its situation overlooking the Thames, belonging to Sir George Warrender.¹

July 21st. Saw the new part of Windsor Castle which has been built for the King.² The richness and magnificence of the furniture and decorations which have been installed are equal to those of Versailles in the days of its glory. We walked in the Park and saw the giraffe at St. Leonard's Hill, the seat of Lord Harcourt.

July 22nd. Visited Dropmore, Lord Grenville's place, remarkable for the number of flowers and the grass as well as for the careful way in which it is kept up.³

Neumann's cold did not improve on his return to town, and although he notes dining with Prince Leopold on the 25th to meet among others Prince Maximilian of Bavaria, he was kept later in the house, with applications of leeches, till August 1st, when he went out for the first time 'quite convalescent.'

On August 4th he goes with Princess Esterhazy to see the Diorama representing 'a view of the village of Unterseen, in Switzerland, very realistic.' This novelty was on the east side of Park Square, Regent's Park, and was designed by Morgan and Pugin at a cost of £10,000 and was first opened in 1823. Timbs, in his *Curiosities of London*, gives a long and technical description of it. On the following day Neumann pays a visit to Bombelles, who had taken up his abode at Hampstead, and six days later he is found driving with Prince Esterhazy along the Edgware and Harrow Roads, a locality very much more rural and attractive then than it is to-day when few people would care to drive there for pleasure. We can resume the Diary with a few entries which speak for themselves.

¹ Afterwards belonged to the Duke of Sutherland, the Duke of Westminster and Ld. Astor. The original house belonged to the 2nd Duke of Buckingham.

² By Wyatt, afterwards created Sir Geoffrey Wyatville.

³ Still more remarkable for its conifers. It is now the property of Lord Fortescue.

Aug. 14th. Dined at the Marquis de Palmella's with the Loulés, the Villa Flors, Count Alava, the Villa Reals, the Countess Linhares, the Count Sabugal, and many other Portuguese, all having fled their country through fear of the persecutions with which they were menaced by Dom Miguel.

Aug. 15th. The Duke of Clarence has resigned his office of Grand Admiral in consequence, they say, of differences between him and Sir George Cockburn,¹ one of the four forming the Council of the Admiralty.

Aug. 20th. Went to Dulwich with Princess Esterhazy, Lady McFarlane, Mrs. Dawson, Mrs. and Miss Macdonald, Captain Edwards, Mr. Beauclerk, M. Walewski, &c. There is a very fine gallery of pictures at Dulwich left to this college by Sir Francis Bourgeois.² The most remarkable is a St. Sebastian, by Guido. Dined at a small inn at the foot of Norwood Hill.

Princess Esterhazy having left for Cheltenham on the 23rd, Neumann, after dining with the Countess St Antonio at Wimbledon on the following day, joined the Princess on the 28th and from Cheltenham made several expeditions.

Aug. 29th. Drove with Princess Esterhazy and her daughter Maria to the seat of Sir William Hicks,³ called Whitcombe. It is one of the most charming places round Cheltenham. Dined with the Duke (of Wellington) who confirmed the news of the departure of the Emperor Nicholas for Odessa. In speaking of the difficulties which the latter had encountered in his operations against the Turks, the Duke said: 'The young men will see that it is not so easy as they think to move an army of 100,000 men.'

Aug. 30th. Left Cheltenham with William Bathurst for Circencester, the seat⁴ of Lord Bathurst, where I found

¹ B 1772, d. 1853. The Duke of Clarence had only held his office for a year.

² The well-known connoisseur and picture collector. Neumann visited Dulwich again on June 14th, 1841.

³ He was great-grand-uncle of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. He was born in 1755 and died in 1834. His first wife was Judith Whitcombe.

⁴ Circencester House. Lord Bathurst was the 3rd Earl and President of the Council in Wellington's administration. He was born in 1762 and died in 1834. William Bathurst, his second son, succeeded as 5th Earl.

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Lady Hardy and her daughters, Lord John Russell¹ and Lord Andover.² Drove with Lady Hardy and Lady Georgiana Bathurst to a charming valley which is occupied by a cloth factory.

Neumann returned to London on September 4th and twelve days later (there are no entries in the Diary in the interval) received news of the arrival of the young Queen of Portugal, Maria da Gloria, who had begun to reign in 1826, but whose throne had been usurped by Dom Miguel. She had come direct from Gibraltar to London before going to Vienna and, afterwards, to take up her residence at Genoa. In 1834 she was reinstated as Queen

Sept. 18th. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Aberdeen and Sir George Murray dined with us (at the Austrian Embassy). They told us they had received news from Odessa stating that the Turks had made a sortie from their position at Choncula and had carried three redoubts and captured eight pieces of cannon from the Russians. The latter have also received a check at Calafat, at the head of the bridge of Widin.³

Sept. 30th. Left for Sudbourn, Lord Hertford's place, with Prince Esterhazy. We found there Lady Strachan, Lady Louisa Kilderby, the Countess St. Antonio, Mrs. Parnther, Miss Mitchell, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, Lord George Seymour, Mr. Croker, King, Captain Meynell and Captain William Percy. Princess Esterhazy was prevented through illness from joining the party.

This party, among which we notice the name of John Wilson Croker, the well-known statesman and writer, and Captain Meynell, the equally well-known sportsman, was chiefly occupied till the 16th in shooting, at least Neumann's entries are mainly concerned with this. But on the first day they can hardly be said to have been very successful, as the guns, consisting of Prince Esterhazy, Lord George Seymour, Captain Percy and Mr. Kilderby, only bagged seven partridges, a hare and a pheasant! They did better on the 13th when the bag, a mixed one, amounted to 205 head. The 16th was notable for the fact that the Duke of Wellington, who had arrived on the 12th, winged a keeper! It was on this day that the

¹ The well-known statesman, afterwards 1st Earl Russell.

² Afterwards 17th Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.

³ An important and strategic place in various Turkish wars, notably in 1689, 1876-8, and 1885.

Duke told Neumann that he had disapproved of the coming of the Queen of Portugal to England ; that it was an intrigue engineered by the Marquis de Palmella and Count Itabayana in order to create here a feeling in favour of the young Princess which should force the English Government openly to espouse her cause. But, said the Duke, ‘ These gentlemen little know this iron hand (shaking his fist), and it will never allow them to do what it does not wish.’

Oct. 17th. Returned to London with Prince Esterhazy after having passed seventeen very pleasant days at Sudbourn Hall with people of very superior character, such as the Speaker, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald,¹ Mr. Croker and M. Planta. Count Lebzeltern and the courier Dorr arrived nearly at the same time as we in London, the former from Genoa, the latter from Vienna. One of the most obvious things at the moment is the unanimous feeling of this country against Russia, and the English Government entirely shares the public sentiment and takes no pains to disguise it.

Oct. 20th. Saw the young Queen of Portugal, who has grown since I met her in Brazil. The lower part of her face favours the Braganza family, but the upper resembles that of the Hapsburgs. She has a good figure and a charming complexion.

Oct. 28th. Received the news of the capture of Varna (by the Russians) through Berlin and Hamburg, it having come through from the former place in four days.

The first two entries in the Diary for November are concerned with Prince Esterhazy, who had broken his leg through a fall from his horse ; but the third and following ones give us certain information gathered by Neumann at dinners and elsewhere with regard to Ireland where, as Bright says, ‘ The agitation in that country which had almost subsided during the administration of Canning and had only slightly revived during that of Goderich, broke out again in full force when the hostile Ministry of Wellington came into office.’

Nov. 21st. Dined at the Mitchells’ with Lady Strachan and Vesey Fitzgerald. The latter told me that the Irish affair was particularly embarrassing for the Government in view of the divergence of opinion which it had produced in

¹ He was President of the Board of Trade ; and in 1835 was raised to the Peerage as Baron Fitzgerald and Vesey. Croker calls him Vesey *tout court*.

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the Cabinet ; that so far as Ireland itself was concerned they had allowed matters to go too far. A conference has been held on the Greek situation when it was resolved that the territory in the Morea and the Cyclades should be limited provisionally until negotiations could be opened with the Porte with regard to the matter.¹

Nov. 24th. Dined at Lord Hertford's with Lord Lowther, Mr. Croker, Colonel Armstrong, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. The last spoke much of the intrigues which went on at the time Mr. Canning took the helm, and of those which followed after his death during Lord Goderich's administration, concerning Mr. Herries² whom Mr. Tierney, Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Huskisson opposed as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The King alone insisted on his admission to the Cabinet in that capacity and carried his point.

Nov. 25th. News has been received that Dom Miguel has broken his thigh through being thrown out of a phaeton with his two sisters, Donna Isabella and Donna d'Assumcaon, who were also hurt, but less severely.

Nov. 28th. Dined at M. de Falck's with Lord and Lady Jersey, the McFarlanes, and the Duke of Wellington, next to whom I sat. He was very talkative and told me, among other things, that during the war with France public opinion was not so strongly pronounced against that country as it is to-day against Russia, and that if this opinion were made use of one would be astonished at the impetus it would give this country in the present state of affairs.

Dec. 6th. Was present to-day at the wedding of the Speaker,³ who was marrying a widow, Mrs. Home Purves, sister of Lady Blessington. Although the bride is thirty-nine she is still very beautiful. There was a breakfast at

¹ The revolution which went on in Greece intermittently from 1821 to 1829 resulted in the establishment of a kingdom in 1832.

² The Rt. Hon John Charles Herries. See Greville's interesting account of his appointment, *Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 108-10. Creevey says, 'Lansdowne has now completed his destruction by allowing Prinny to force Herries down his throat.'

³ Charles Manners Sutton, 1780-1845. He first became Speaker in 1817 and remained such till 1834, when he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Canterbury. This was his second wife, who was Ellen, daughter of Edward Power. She died in 1875.

her house and the newly-wedded pair afterwards left to spend the honeymoon at Hastings.

On December 7th Neumann went in the company of Prince Schwarzenberg again to stay with Mr. Hope at Deepdene, where he found Lord and Lady Gwydyr, Lady Sandwich and her daughter Lady Caroline Montagu, and Lord Beresford,¹ and on the 22nd he notes the arrival of the Queen of Portugal at Windsor

Dec. 22nd. The young Queen of Portugal has been received by the King at Windsor, the latter being surrounded by all his family and the Court. He greeted her at the top of the staircase and conducted her through all the state apartments, entertaining her to dinner and treating her with the greatest distinction. The King saw a great resemblance between her and the late Princess Charlotte.

In the evening there was a performance of the opera of *L'Inganno Felice* by artists of the Academy of Music, at the Countess St. Antonio's. Except a young man named Seguin, who possesses a good bass voice, and a Miss Child, a soprano, the performers were very ordinary.

From Middleton Park, the seat of Lord Jersey, where he arrived on the 26th December and found a large house party, Neumann the next day went with some of them to see Blenheim.

Dec. 27th. Rode over to Blenheim with Lady Jersey and Lady Aberdeen, who drove in an open carriage. The present Duke of Marlborough² is so ruined that he only occupies one room in his vast mansion. It contains some magnificent pictures by Rubens, and a Raphael representing his mistress Dorothea, a most delightful portrait which one cannot gaze at enough.³ I returned with Lord Lyne-doch, an old man of eighty, who down to last year used to hunt regularly. The weakness of his eyes forced him to give up this pleasure, but he goes still for thirty mile walks. He was originally known as Sir Thomas Graham.

¹ Field-Marshal Lord Beresford, famous in the Peninsular War (1768-1854).

² He was the 5th Duke, b. 1766, d. 1840. He had succeeded his father in 1817.

³ This, I imagine, is the famous Ansiedi Madonna now in the National Gallery, having been bought by the nation for £70,000

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During the few remaining days of the old year the Diarist was at Middleton, where he stayed on after the rest of the house party had dispersed. On the 30th he went for a drive with Lady Jersey, "who asked me to tell her about Madame de Lieven and the further attempts she had made to get the Duke of Wellington again under her influence. On one of the last of these occasions she cried and said to him. 'I have been sorry to do this ever since you told me that when I cried I made myself look ugly, and I know I am now.'" To this Neumann adds: "No one but Lady Jersey can look beautiful when she weeps." On January 1st he returned to London, closing his record for 1828 by the remark that nothing remarkable had happened this year so far as he himself was concerned.

1829

On his return to London on January 1st Neumann was occupied with Embassy business and the reception and despatching of couriers till the 10th, when he went to stay two nights at The Priory, belonging to Lord Abercorn¹ and then occupied by his guardian Lord Aberdeen. Thence he went on to Hatfield where there was a house party which included the Belfasts, the Clarendons, the Ellenboroughs, and Lords Clanwilliam and Beresford. On returning to the Embassy on January 24th he found that Princess Esterhazy had arrived from Windsor where she had been for two days as the guest of the King, who, we are told, expressed his anger with Prince Metternich on the subject of his differences with the Duke of Brunswick, and also spoke strongly against Dom Miguel.

Jan. 27th. Dined with the Duke of Wellington. There were present Princess Esterhazy, the Prince being still confined to his room through his accident, the Prince and Princess Lieven, Princess Polignac, and Baron and Baroness Bulow. I heard that M. Matuscewitz had arrived, charged with a mission from the Russian Government.²

Jan. 29th. Received the news of the death of the young Princess Metternich.³ She died from a miliary fever which

¹ The 2nd Marquess, at this time just eighteen. He was afterwards created 1st Duke of Abercorn in 1866 in recognition of his services as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was known as 'Old Glory,' for his magnificence.

² Greville recording Matuscewitz's arrival says he was the principal writer in the Russian Foreign Office and a clever man; while Raikes, who has many references to him, remarks that 'he took root in this country, where he resided many years, speaking the language perfectly and adopting all the habits and tastes of an Englishman.' He left England on being appointed Russian Minister at Naples.

³ The Prince's 2nd wife, *née* Antonie von Leykam, Countess von Beilstein.



ANTONIE VON LEYKAM
COUNTESS VON BEILSTEIN, SECOND WIFE OF PRINCE K. L. W. METTERNICH
b. 1806, d. 1829
From a miniature by Johann F. J. Ziegler

carried her off in twenty-eight hours, the tenth day after giving birth to a boy quite normally. This event, which overwhelmed me with grief, was communicated to me by Prince Metternich himself, who has written a heartrending letter on the subject, exhibiting at once his greatness of mind and the depth of his affliction.

On February 4th Neumann makes the acquaintance of Matuscewitz at Madame de Lieven's, and on the following day records that at the opening of Parliament the King's Speech contained a reference to the project for according the franchise to the Roman Catholics, which was received with delight by the Opposition, the Duke of Newcastle and Lords Eldon and Winchelsea ; the leaders of the ultra-Protestant party, however, speaking energetically against it. Some short entries tell us of the Diarist's doings during the following few days : thus he again meets Matuscewitz, who dined at the Embassy with Prince Lieven , a fortnight later he sees Lady Clanricarde after two years' absence, who recalls to him by her manner and wit her father Mr. Canning , he hears of the death of the Pope Leo XII. on February 20th ; and on the 26th he dines with Lord Willoughby, among the guests being Mr. Raikes, whose well-known Diary covers much of the period dealt with by Neumann.

The new month opens with some longer entries which speak for themselves, the bulk of them being concerned with the Catholic Emancipation Bill.

March 1st. Dined with the Prince de Polignac to meet Prince and Princess Lieven, Count Matuscewitz, Princess Esterhazy, Lord and Lady Tankerville and Lord Grey, who told me after dinner that in 1807,¹ under Lord Grenville's administration, he had brought forward a bill relative to the Roman Catholics ; that there was a curious similarity between those times and the present in that the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Eldon were then also among the Opposition.

March 4th. The King, wishing to retract the permission he had given his Ministers to bring forward the Catholic question in Parliament, has created so many obstacles to it that had it been presented in the way he wished it would have been wrecked. He had secretly given orders to all his household to vote against the measure, but the Duke

¹ It was in this year that Grey was dismissed from his office of Foreign Secretary under Grenville.

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of Wellington having learnt of this went to Windsor and told the King that all the Ministers without exception would resign, whereupon His Majesty gave way.

March 5th. The measure for Catholic Emancipation was brought forward to-day by Mr. Peel, who spoke for four hours and displayed as much eloquence as mastery of the facts. His speech was on the whole well received.

March 6th. They tell me that Madame de Lieven urged the Duke of Cumberland to uphold the King in his resistance to the Duke of Wellington, hoping in this way to turn the latter out.

March 13th. There appeared to-day in the *Morning Chronicle*, and afterwards in nearly all the evening papers, an affidavit made by Captain Garth relating to a casket containing certain letters and deposited with a banker as the result of a transaction between him and Sir Herbert Taylor, by which the Captain should receive a pension of £3,000 a year. They say that this Captain Garth is a son of the Duke of Cumberland by his sister Princess Sophia, while others affirm that he is a son of General Garth by this Princess, whose husband the General was.

Creevey refers to the above, but evidently did not know who the parties were. It is an ugly story, but has already been made public property in the published letters of Princess Lieven.

On March 15th Neumann dines with the Polignacs and meets Sir Sidney Smith, whom he found 'much changed.' The victor of Acre was at this time sixty-five and had another eleven years to live. Raikes records his death on September 27th, 1840. On the 21st the Diarist mentions an incident which created much talk and excitement at the time.

March 21st. The Duke of Wellington has fought a duel with Lord Winchelsea concerning a letter which the latter had written to the Secretary of the Royal University of London in which he used terms reflecting on the Duke. They fought at a distance of twelve paces from each other. The Duke missed his adversary, who fired in the air. Sir Henry Hardinge was the Duke's second, Lord Falmouth Lord Winchelsea's. The latter, after the duel, published a declaration in which he expressed his regret at having used expressions dishonourable to the Duke.

Greville gives a long account of the duel, which took place at Wimbledon. Nothing could equal the astonishment caused by the event, he says, some blaming Lord Winchelsea and some the Duke, although he records, as does Creevey, that the King was delighted and said he should have done the same, adding that gentlemen must stand on their privileges. There was an amusing sequel concerning a handkerchief which Greville also relates in his *Journal*.¹

The passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill through Parliament was watched and its various stages duly recorded by Neumann, who for the rest has entries only of dinner parties, of a flying visit to Brighton—‘where I had not been for nine years,’ he says, and of meeting with various friends whose names crop up throughout the Diary, and most of which have already been recorded. There are no entries at all from April 12th to September 6th, the section of the Diary for this period having evidently been lost, and on the 23rd of the latter month the Diarist goes to the country.

Sept. 23rd. Left at 7.45 for Sudbourn, Lord Hertford’s place, by the stage-coach ‘The Shannon’ which went as far as Woodbridge, seventy-eight miles, in eight hours, although on leaving Witham one of the horses fell down dead. I found Lady Louisa Kilderby and her husband, Lady Strachan, Miss Mitchell, Lord George Seymour, Horace Seymour, Mr. King, Col. Cooke² and Captain Meynell there. In the evening we had a conjuror who did some excellent tricks.

Oct. 3rd. Arrival of Lord Dudley and of Mr. Theodore Hook, a noted wit, but accused of certain extortions in one of the Colonies. On his return someone asked him at the Cape of Good Hope, where he broke his journey home, if he was returning to England on account of his health. ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘there is something wrong about the chest.’ He improvised on the piano some *vers de société* with much wit and readiness.

It is hardly necessary to say anything explanatory about Theodore Hook and his famous improvisations, his wit, practical jokes, and his constant potations, but the reader may be reminded of his meeting with the Prince Regent at Lord Hertford’s, in Manchester Square, when His Royal Highness was so delighted with his gifts that, putting his hand on his shoulder, he said: ‘Mr. Hook, I must see and hear you again.’ The anecdote related above by Neumann is, of course, a well-known one.

¹ Vol. I, p. 198.

² Known as ‘Kangaroo’ Cooke. See Gronow.

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Oct. 6th. Mr. Croker, Captain Seymour and his son, and Horace Seymour, left. Walked to Rendlesham¹ with Lord Dudley. The owner, Lord Rendlesham, is the man whose son, should he have one, will inherit the fortune of Mr. Thellusson who left such an extraordinary will. I weighed myself on a machine here and find my weight is 191 English pounds. I returned to London on the 8th.

Oct. 9th. Saw a new actress at Covent Garden, Miss Fanny Kemble,² daughter of the celebrated actor Charles Kemble. She played, only for the third time, the part of Juliet in a way worthy of the most consummate performer.

Oct. 12th. Saw Miss Kemble again as Juliet, but she did not seem to me to equal in tenderness Miss O'Neill, who was inimitable in this part.

Oct. 15th. Lady Jersey talked to me a great deal about the Duke of Wellington, who had been to see her a few days ago, which gave rise to much conversation. She reproached him for having allowed himself to be duped by Russia. Saw Sir Robert Otway, the admiral commanding the English naval forces in the south, who was so polite to me at Rio Janeiro.³

On October 17th Neumann returned to Sudbourn and there found many of the house party he had left on the 8th. Among those who arrived there the next day were Croker and the Duke of Wellington, the Arbuthnots and Lord and Lady Nugent. On the 21st Huskisson came down and, says Neumann, 'it was curious to see his meeting with the Duke.' Little is mentioned by the Diarist except some riding excursions to Rendlesham Hall and Batley Abbey; and he returned to London on the 27th. At this time he was a good deal at Wimbledon, dining there with the St. Antonios on three successive evenings. On November 1st, having dined with Wellington, he afterwards went with him, the Arbuthnots and the Nugents, to see Miss Kemble again as Juliet. On November 3rd he goes with the Nugents to Woolwich to witness some experiments with the new Congreve rocket, but he adds they were not yet able to give it accurate direction. Sir William Congreve, its inventor, had been

¹ Rendlesham Hall, near Woodbridge. Lord Rendlesham had married in 1826, but died without issue.

² b. 1809, d. 1893. Her 'records' are known almost as well as her fame as an actress.

³ See pp. 159-161. Sir Robert was a son of Cooke Otway, Esq., of Castle Otway; b. 1772, created a baronet at William IV.'s coronation, died 1846.

Comptroller of the Royal Laboratory at Woolwich, to which post he was appointed as successor to his father, Lt.-General Sir William Congreve, in 1814. He died in the preceding year (1828).

Nov. 4th. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's with Lady Cowley, Miss Wellesley, the Marquess¹ and Marchioness of Salisbury, the dowager Marchioness of Salisbury, the Arbuthnots, and Prince Esterhazy.

Nov. 6th. Left for Strathfieldsaye with Prince Esterhazy, where we found the Arbuthnots, the Nugents and M. Matuscewitz.

Nov. 7th. Rode with the Nugents and Mrs. Arbuthnot to see a place called Bramshill belonging to Sir John Cope.² It is a curious house. It was built for Prince Henry, son of James I. There are some old pictures there and several portraits of Charles II.'s mistresses, among them being a charming one of Nell Gwynn.

Nov. 8th. Rode with the Duke of Wellington, the Nugents and Prince Esterhazy, to see a farm belonging to the Duke called Chilchester,³ where there had once been a Roman villa. The wall which formed the enclosure still remains, as well as the place where an amphitheatre existed. In the evening the Duke told us several anecdotes about the Congress of Vienna,⁴ among others that when the escape of Bonaparte from Elba was announced a council of all the Plenipotentiaries then assembled at Vienna was held, and when it was asked where Bonaparte would land, Talleyrand replied, 'Anywhere—except in France ;' which proves that his foresight was not as happy as his *bons mots*.

During the remainder of this year the entries in the Diary are not such as to require quoting in full. For the most part they are concerned with visits to Sudbourn, whither he went with Lord

¹ This was the 2nd Marquess, b. 1791, d. 1847, who had married Frances, daughter and heiress of B. Gascoyne, Esq., in 1821. The Dowager Marchioness, his mother, was a daughter of the 1st Marquess of Downshire. It was she who was burned to death at Hatfield in 1835; for details of this catastrophe see Raikes' *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 274.

² The owner of this famous and beautiful place at this time, Sir John Cope, died in 1851. He was the 11th Baronet.

³ Silchester.

⁴ For settling the affairs of Europe after the downfall of Napoleon. It lasted from September 1814 to June 1815.

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Hertford on the 12th November returning to London on the 18th, and again going down there on the 20th. While there he went one day to see Lord Stradbroke's place, Henham Hall, with some of the house party, returning to London on December 3rd, on the evening of which day he visited Drury Lane to see a melodrama entitled *The Brigand*, while a few days later he sees Miss Kemble in the part of Belvedere—‘a play which has given her the opportunity of further developing her talent for high tragedy—the scene which follows her separation from her husband and where her reason gives way and she appears in a state of complete madness, being the height of the sublime in this direction,’ is the Diarist’s verdict.

An entry for December 21st indicates that full of social news as the Diary is, Neumann was also working hard in the intervals. ‘Dec. 21st. Prince Esterhazy has to-day signed an agreement concerning navigation and commerce with the English Government, in the arranging of which I have had the greatest part of the work.’

On December 22nd Neumann went to Hatfield, where he met, among others, the Lievens, whom he had not come across, he says, for three years; the Princess showed him ‘affected politeness.’ Montrond, Talleyrand’s *âme damnée*, was also there. The Diarist ends the year at Sudbourn where, indeed, he remained till January 6th.

1830

Jan. 7th. Sir Thomas Lawrence has died after an illness of 48 hours. It is an irreparable loss to the fine arts. He was the first portrait painter of the day, and his pleasant affable manners made him an easy man to get on with.¹

Jan. 11th. Received the news of the death of the Archduchess Charles (of Austria). She was the sister of the reigning Duc de Nassau.

Jan. 14th. Left with Kölle for Buckland Park, belonging to a Mr. Throckmorton, a very rich Roman Catholic who married a daughter of Lady Aston, one of my best friends. Indeed she is as much so as is her sister the Baroness Tachenhausen. I returned by way of Oxford in very cold weather and much snow. Kölle remained at Oxford to see the colleges.

Jan. 19th. Everyone is talking of a scandalous affair which has taken place between the Duke of Cumberland and Lady Graves, the mother of thirteen children. They were found together at Hampton Court Palace.

¹ b. 1769, knighted 1815. President of the R.A. 1820.

Jan. 24th. News has arrived of the death of the dowager Queen of Portugal; two years ago this news would have created a much greater stir.

Jan. 31st. Dined with Lord Hertford, who came up yesterday from Sudbourn, at his new house in Park Lane, which is extremely attractive and beautifully situated.¹

Feb. 3rd. The Duc de Laval told me that Madame de Staël, who was at first very much taken with the Emperor Napoleon but failed in her efforts to please him, once asked Talleyrand whom he thought had the more sense, Bonaparte or she. To which the latter, rather embarrassed at the question, replied that the Emperor had more sense but that she had more courage!

Feb. 4th. Opening of Parliament by Royal Commission. The chief points of the King's Speech were the distress existing in various parts of the country, and the necessity for coming sooner or later to some decision with regard to Portugal in the event of the Emperor and Dom Pedro refusing to agree to an arrangement. In the House of Commons an amendment on the first point left Ministers with a majority of only 33, the feeling of the House being that the distress was general and required the promptest remedies. This small majority produced a bad effect.²

Feb. 5th. The building called The Argyll Rooms has been entirely destroyed by fire. The difficulty of obtaining water in consequence of the great frost was one of the chief causes.³

Feb. 7th. Dined at Lord Hertford's with the Duke of Wellington, the Prince and Princess Esterhazy, the Duchess

¹ This was old Dorchester House, which stood on the site of the present one. Lord Hertford died here in 1842. Neumann was much with him about this time, as there are many entries of dinners at Dorchester House at which he was present.

² See Greville, who says 'the Duke had indiscreetly called the distress "partial" in the Speech, and the consequence was an amendment moved by Knatchbull declaring it to be general.' See, too, Brougham's letter to Creevey, *Creevey Papers*, vol. 2, p. 208.

³ The Argyll Rooms, No. 246 Regent Street, were built by Nash in 1818 as part of his Regent Street scheme. A fire engine more or less on modern lines was first used to combat the flames on this occasion, but without result, owing to the cause stated by Neumann. For an account of these rooms see the Editor's *Pleasure Haunts of London*.

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of Canizzaro,¹ Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot, the Becketts, Lords Forester and Castlereagh, Mr. Vyner, and Sir George Warrender. Lord Graves² yesterday cut his throat with a razor, not having been able to endure the grief caused him by the affront he has received from the Duke of Cumberland, whose affair with Lady Graves has been published in all the papers. They say that it was after having read one of these articles that he committed the deed, the odium of which will falls on the Duke.

Feb. 8th. Everyone is talking of the death of Lord Graves, which has caused a sad feeling throughout society.

Feb. 12th. Went to the French comedy with the French Ambassador and Prince and Princess Esterhazy. They performed *Antoine ou Les Trois Générations*. Potier plays wonderfully, but the piece is too long. The Duc de Laval, who is full of anecdotes, said that someone dining at a *table d'hôte* began to speak somewhat freely of the Princess Galitzin, when one of those present said, 'She is my wife.' 'Oh,' replied the other, 'then let us talk of something else.'

Feb. 13th-16th. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's with Prince and Princess Esterhazy, the Duchess of Canizzaro, Lord and Lady Tankerville, Mrs. Arbuthnot, Lady Strachan, Lord Hertford, Lord Castlereagh, Sir Henry Cook, Colonel Armstrong and Colonel Fancourt. The Duke showed us the new gallery he has had built, which is very fine, the ceiling being gilded and extraordinarily rich.³ I am told that Lord Palmerston was the bearer of a message from Lieven (as Russian Ambassador) to Prince Leopold offering him the throne of Greece. There has been a great fire in the Strand which burnt down the English Opera House and the adjoining buildings.⁴

¹ See note on p. 42.

² The 2nd Lord Graves. b. 1775. He was Comptroller of the Household to the Duke of Cumberland. His wife was Lady Mary Paget, 2nd daughter of the 1st Earl of Uxbridge.

³ Apsley House—'No. 1 London,' as a wit called it. The addition (the Waterloo Chamber) here mentioned was made by Sir Geoffrey Wyattville, who also built the additional rooms under, and encased the whole house, which was hitherto of red brick as mentioned by Thackeray in *Vanity Fair*.

⁴ This was the old Lyceum Theatre. It had been opened by Arnold as an Opera House in 1809. In 1816 it had been rebuilt by Beazley. The fire referred to occurred on Feb. 16th.

Feb. 20th. Lord Ellenborough has applied for a bill of divorce against his wife, and it has been granted, no defence having been put in.¹

Feb. 21st. The courier Profetti brought us the ratification of the treaty of commerce with England, and told me that the Emperor had made me Commander of the Order of Leopold. Prince Metternich announced this to me by a special letter, written in terms which greatly heighten the value of the distinction. He advises me to apply for the title of Baron. Count Mercy, Gentz and Baron Siber have written to congratulate me. Prince Esterhazy, who for some little time has not been very friendly to me, does not seem very pleased at this honour. On the other hand the Princess showed how glad she was with a kindness and charm which are characteristic of her.

Feb. 23rd. Lord John Russell brought forward a motion on the question of parliamentary reform, on which the Government had a majority of only 48, which is a triumph for the Opposition. The principal object was to give representation to the towns of Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham.

There follow a number of notices of dinner parties at Rothschild's, Mrs. Orby Hunter's, Lord Hertford's, Sir George Warrender's, etc. For the most part the names of the guests, the majority of whom we have already met, are alone given, although one item of intelligence is noticed which did not materialise; for under date of February 25th Neumann writes that 'Prince Leopold has accepted the sovereignty of Greece' Lord Ellenborough's divorce, in which Prince Schwarzenberg was cited as a co-respondent, forms the matter of the two following entries.

March 7th. Lord Ellenborough's solicitor, Mr. Freshfield, has written to Prince Esterhazy asking him to reply to three questions in the House of Lords, where the bill for Lady Ellenborough's divorce will be presented on the 9th inst. These questions are: When was Prince Schwarzenberg recalled by the Court (of Austria); when did he leave

¹ The 2nd Lord Ellenborough. His wife (*en secondes noces*) was Jane, daughter of Admiral Digby; the marriage was dissolved by Act of Parliament as here stated. Creevey thought him 'a damned fellow.' Lady Ellenborough, whom Creevey calls 'Aurora,' afterwards married three times, and died at Damascus in 1881.

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England ; and whether or not he has been in this country since ?

March 9th. The bill for Lord Ellenborough's divorce was read a second time in the House of Lords. Questions were put to the witnesses. A waiter employed at the Norfolk Hotel at Brighton stated that Prince Felix Schwarzenberg had passed the night in Lady Ellenborough's bedroom. A servant at the house No. 11 Harley Street said she had often seen Lady Ellenborough going into No. 73¹ opposite, where Prince Schwarzenberg lived, and she had one day seen him lacing her stays. A servant of the house, who went subsequently to 11 Holles Street, where the Prince afterwards lodged, proved that Lady Ellenborough went constantly between 2 and 5 o'clock to one or the other of the houses. A young groom of Lady Ellenborough's said that he had often accompanied her in a phaeton to the Prince's house. The bill was put down for a third reading.

After a further record of dinner engagements and a visit to Drury Lane with Lady Clanricarde and Mrs. Damer to see *Le Garde Nationale* played, Neumann turns to a more serious topic.

March 15th. The Budget has been presented, and the Government has announced the abolition of five millions of taxes ; 3 millions off beer, £400,000 off leather, £25,000 off cider, and a saving of £1,500,000 as the equivalent of this taxation.

March 17th. Lord and Lady Jersey, Lord and Lady Fitzroy Somerset, Lord Forester, Lord and Lady Glengall,² Colonel Anson, Mr. Villiers and Mr. Robert Adair, dined at the Embassy. There was a ball at the Princess Lieven's, where I danced a waltz with Lady Euston.³ The bill for Lord Ellenborough's divorce was read in the House of Lords yesterday for the third time. Lords Radnor and Malmesbury made objections to it, and accused Lord Ellenborough of having been too negligent in respect to the conduct of his wife. The bill nevertheless passed and went to the Commons.

¹ This house was once occupied by Gladstone.

² See note on p. 220. ³ See note on p. 183.

On the 24th Neumann notes dining with Croker (he had been dining out every night for a fortnight), and the next night he goes with the Esterhazys and Lord and Lady Belfast to see Miss Kemble in *The Merchant of Venice*. It was, he says, her first attempt at a gayer rôle than usual, and she was eminently successful in it. The Ellenborough affair, of which several further notices will be found, indirectly affected Neumann, as we see by the following entry.

March 30th. My groom received a summons to present himself as a witness in the House of Commons to-morrow at the trial of Lady Ellenborough's divorce suit. The order not being signed by the Speaker, whom I consulted about it, he told me that my groom was not obliged to appear. Spent the evening at the Duke of Devonshire's. Count and Countess Karolyi arrived.

April 1st. Dined with Lord Jersey. There were present the Bishop of Oxford¹ and his wife, Lady Henrietta Bagot, sister of Lord Jersey, Lord and Lady Fitzroy Somerset, Lord Chesterfield, Henry Greville, Lord Auckland, etc. The conversation turned on the second reading of the Ellenborough divorce bill which had just taken place in the House of Commons, and where one of the witnesses, Miss Steel, who had been Lady Ellenborough's companion, said that she had spoken to her as well as to Lord Ellenborough concerning the bad class of people with whom Lady Ellenborough associated. Mr. Hume asked for the names of these people; but the House disallowed the question. Nevertheless Miss Steel said that her remarks had been chiefly aimed at a certain lady whom she thought exercised a bad influence on Lady Ellenborough, and it is quite certain that the Esterhazy family was on the point of being compromised. Seeing the way in which the trial was going I authorised my groom to appear as a witness. He was examined privately by Lord Ellenborough's solicitor, who sent him away, realising that he knew nothing.

April 2nd. Yesterday there was an atrocious article in the *Times* concerning Miss Steel's evidence with regard to the bad company kept by Lady Ellenborough and making pointed allusion to the Princess Esterhazy.

¹ Richard Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, 1829-1845.

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April 4th. The newspaper *The Examiner* contains another horrible article about the Princess in connection with the Ellenborough trial, remarking that everyone foresaw the consequence of Lady Ellenborough's intimacy with the Princess Esterhazy.

April 8th-9th. Saw Madame de Batthyany, one of my oldest friends, who arrived yesterday. Went with the Karolyis to see the camellia¹ at Chandler's, the florists, near Vauxhall Bridge.

April 10th. Dined with the Speaker (Manners Sutton) to meet Mr. Washington Irving² and Moore the poet. Our host quoted several anecdotes of the present Lord Ellenborough's father, who was a great judge, among others that one day when Lord Darnley was making a long speech he yawned in the middle of it, on which Lord Ellenborough observed : 'The fellow shows some taste.' Lord Westmorland in a speech happened to say : 'I ask myself such and such a question.' 'Ah,' remarked Lord Ellenborough, 'and a damned foolish answer he'll get.'³

I had a conversation with the Princess concerning the awful articles in the newspapers, but little enough impression did they seem to make on her, at which I felt sad.

About this time George IV.'s health began to give occasion for serious disquiet, the first evidence of it in Neumann's record being the following entry :

April 15th. The King has been seized with a bilious attack, which must be rather serious as a bulletin has been published, which is only done in grave cases. The Levée which was to have taken place on the 21st, and the Drawing Room on the 23rd, have in consequence been postponed for a fortnight. Went to Drury Lane with the Princess and the Countess Karolyi. From there to the Duchess of Canizzaro's, where Miss Kemble was present, not looking so pretty as she does on the stage.

¹ The flower was then a new and rare one, hence the record of going specially to see a specimen.

² He had been appointed Secretary to the American Legation in London during the previous year.

³ For further examples of Lord Ellenborough's humour and powers of ridicule see *A Century of Anecdote*, by J. Timbs.

April 16th. The King is better, but the Levée is put off now till May 5th and the Drawing Room till the 7th.

April 17th. *Début* of Madame Lalande in Bellini's opera of *Il Pirata*. Neither she nor it had a great success. The opera was badly staged and Madame Lalande was tired after her journey.

April 24th. Went to the Water Colour Exhibition.¹ The works of Prout, Copley Fielding and Robson seemed to me the best.

April 25th. There was a small reception at Sir George Warrender's where Madame Malbran² sang some Spanish and French songs most delightfully. The King not so well again to-day.

April 28th. The King has had a fairly good night, but he is not out of danger, being quite likely to succumb to one of his fits of spasms. He recently received the Duke of Clarence and had himself dressed and put on his wig in order to appear in a better state of health and to destroy any hope his brother may have of succeeding him soon !

April 29th. The King is worse. The difficulty in breathing continues. For the first time since his illness a bulletin was displayed outside St. James's Palace. Lord Howe, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and Mr. Cecil Forester, groom of the Bedchamber, in full uniform, exhibited the bulletin from 2 to 4 o'clock. The whole of the King's livery-servants and the *valets-de-chambre* took part in this sad ceremony.

April 30th. The King is a little better. Prince Leopold has returned from Paris. The Seftons, the Duke of Wellington, Lady Jersey, the Belfasts, the Karolyis, Lord Alvanley, Madame Batthyany, Lord Foley, Lord Clanwilliam, etc., dined with us. In the evening Madame Stockhausen sang charming little Swiss airs, and Ponchard of the Opera Comique some French songs.

The state of the King's health, which fluctuated greatly, generally heads Neumann's entries at this time. Interspersed with these we

¹ In Spring Gardens.

² Afterwards Madame de Beriot (1808-1836), having married the famous violinist in 1836. She first appeared when she was sixteen. Neumann records her death later (see vol 2, p 54, where a portrait of her is given).

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find notices of dinners and evening parties and excursions in company with friends to various places round London. Thus one day (May 3rd) he goes with the Esterhazys and Karolyis to see Cassiobury, Lord Essex's seat—'very pretty ;' then on to The Grove, Watford, Lord Clarendon's, ending with a visit to Ashridge Park, of which he says that it is 'a fine mansion built in the gothic style by Lord Bridgewater out of income, the vestibule being the most noticeable feature.' That night the party slept in the village of Woburn. The next day they visited Woburn Abbey.

May 4th. Saw Woburn, belonging to the Duke of Bedford, a truly royal abode where splendour and comfort go hand in hand. The pleasure grounds are of the most beautiful description. Passed Luton, the seat of the Marquess of Bute, which is being built at the moment. Then saw Hatfield, and returned to London in the evening. I drove the whole way in my tilbury with my own horses and a relay belonging to the Prince (Esterhazy).

May 10th. They say that the King's legs have been blistered and that the Bishop of Chichester administered the sacrament to him three days ago. A great mystery envelops the King's illness ; what is certain is that the doctors do not wish to take the responsibility of saying he is better.

May 11th. The King is much worse, and all hopes of his recovery have been given up. Dined with the Kilderbys ; Sir Henry Cook, who was there, told us that when the Duke of Clarence was Lord High Admiral he had an altercation with Mr. Croker, the Secretary to the Admiralty, during which he said that when he was King he would be his own Grand Admiral, on which Mr. Croker replied that James II. had also been !

May 12th. The King goes from bad to worse. Went to the picture show (Royal Academy) at Somerset House¹ with the Princess (Esterhazy) and Prince F. Liechtenstein. The portraits of Lord Aberdeen and Lord Belfast by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and the *genre* pictures of Newton and Wilkie, are the best. In the evening went to Astley's² with the Karolyis.

¹ From 1780 to 1838 the Royal Academy Exhibitions were held here.

² It was in the Westminster Bridge Road and had originally been set up in 1774, but was several times burned down.

May 18th. The King continues to improve.¹ Evening party at Lady Stafford's, who opened the new house built by the Duke of York.² The staircase is the finest I have ever seen ; they say it surpasses that in the Braschi Palace at Rome.

May 19th. Prince Franz Liechtenstein left for Vienna. The Princess Esterhazy, Clanwilliam, Karolyi and I accompanied him to the steamer going to Rotterdam. Clanwilliam returned, but the rest of us went as far as Gravesend, whence we returned to town by land.

May 20th. Dined at Lord Brownlow's with the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Wellington, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Lord and Lady Salisbury and Baron and Baroness Bülow. The Duke of Wellington told me that he was going to ask for an explanation from France with regard to the Algiers expedition.³

May 21st. Yesterday news arrived of the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies at Paris, and to-day of a partial change in the Ministry. M. de Chanteluze receives the Seals in place of M. de Courvoisier, M. de Montbel the portfolio of Finance in place of M. de Chabrol, and M. de Peyronnet replaces M. de Montbel as Minister of the Interior.

May 22nd. The King's health continues to improve. Prince Leopold of Cobourg yesterday refused the crown of Greece which he had previously accepted.⁴

May 24th. A message has been sent to Parliament on behalf of the King seeking authority for someone to sign documents on his behalf, the state of his health not permitting him to do so himself. They fear the return of the water in his legs. Lord Lilford⁵ to-day married Miss Fox, daughter of Lord Holland, and the marriage is announced of Lord Seymour, eldest son of the Duke of Somerset, with

¹ On the previous day Neumann had written . ' The King is better, and the doctors are not without hope that he may recover after all.'

² Stafford House, now Lancaster House, the London Museum. For an account of it see the Editor's *Private Palaces of London*.

³ Algiers was occupied by the French during this year.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 66.

⁵ 3rd Baron, b. 1801, d. 1861. Lady Lilford died in 1891.

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Miss Sheridan,¹ grand-daughter of the celebrated Sheridan. Happy country where the aristocracy is so powerful as to be able to rise above prejudice and to associate itself with all kinds of merit, beginning with beauty, which is the only one Miss Sheridan possesses !

The remainder of the entries for May are not such as require reproducing *verbatim*. Neumann was a good deal troubled by the sudden illness of Princess Esterhazy, and records how she was bled and how many ounces of blood she lost, and so forth, but she was about again on the 31st. Meanwhile he dined out as regularly as ever, but did not go to the Derby although he records that Priam won it, and notes that Lord Aberdeen said to him that no doubt Prince Metternich would laugh a good deal at Prince Leopold's 'abdication.' On the 29th he goes to see the exhibition of Sir Thomas Lawrence's pictures, finding the portraits of the Empress of Austria, Pope Pius VII., Cardinal Gonsalvi, the Duke of Wellington, the late Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning the most attractive. On the 31st he notes dining with Lord Hertford at his villa, St. Dunstan's, in the Regent's Park, although the weather was so cold that the guests could not walk in the garden! However, Lady Jersey's evening party made up for this, as the Diarist remarks that the heat and the crowd there were its chief characteristics.

June 2nd. Dined with Sir Edmund Antrobus, one of the partners in Coutts's bank. There are four, Sir Edmund, drawing £50,000 a year; the Duchess of St. Albans,² widow of the defunct head of the bank, having for her part an income of £80,000; Sir Coutts Trotter £25,000; and Mr. Marjoribanks about the same: which makes a profit in a single banking house of £180,000 a year.

June 3rd. Saw for the first time Taglioni,³ who has converted dancing into a fine art, so much ease, grace and suppleness does she display. She absolutely speaks to the imagination.

June 6th. Went to Holland House, after an interval of ten or twelve years. This was the result of advances made

¹ Her husband became 12th Duke. She was the famous Queen of Beauty at the Eglinton Tournament. For examples of her wit see G. W. E. Russell's *Collections and Recollections*.

² Harriett Mellon, wife of Thomas Coutts, and afterwards of the 9th Duke of St. Albans.

³ This forerunner of our Pavlova was born in 1804 and died 1884. She left the stage in 1847 on her marriage to Count Gilbert des Voisins.



SIG. MARIA TAGLIONI
(COMTESSE GILBERT DES VOISINS)
b. 1804, d. 1884
From a drawing made in 1831

me by Lady Holland. I met there the chiefs of the Opposition. Lady Holland was in a pony chaise, My Lord was mounted on another pony, and both were receiving in their park, which is a charming one.¹

June 9th. Prince Frederick of Prussia, son of the Duchess of Cumberland by her first marriage with Prince Louis of Prussia, brother of the reigning King, and cousin germane of the Princess Esterhazy, dined at the Embassy. The Princess, who is still ill, received her guests in a *chaise longue*.

Indeed the Princess, who appeared to have recovered, had had a relapse, and from several subsequent entries in the Diary we realise how seriously ill she was for some time after this, the constant references Neumann makes indicating his anxiety concerning the lady, with whom he was, for a time at least, much in love. It was not, indeed, till June 23rd that she was able to get up for the first time. In the meanwhile George IV. was slowly dying, although his amazing constitution enabled him to keep death at a distance and even at times to give hopes of recovery. However, on June 25th Neumann records that he is not expected to live through the night, and on the following day occurs this notice of the expected end.

June 26th. The King died this morning at 3.15. He ruptured a blood vessel, which ended his life without pain. It was a merciful providence, for his disease was incurable. The Duke of Clarence, now William the Fourth, came from Bushey Park to St. James's Palace, where a Council was assembled. He made a very touching speech and was himself greatly affected. He received the Duke of Wellington very well and returned him his seals of office, as he did those of the other Ministers. The Marquess of Conyngham, Lord Steward, received the oaths of the House of Commons, a curious position for him considering the rôle his wife played about the late King.

June 27th. Went to write my name at all the Prince's and Princess's. The King's first act yesterday was to admit the Duke of Norfolk to a private audience which, as he is a Catholic peer, indicates the feelings of His Majesty

¹ Holland House, Kensington. Lady Holland's fame is too well known to require further notice here.

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with regard to this question.¹ The Marchioness of Conyngham left Windsor on Saturday at mid-day and went to pass the night at Digby, the seat of her brother Mr. Denison. From there she is going to Wales, then to Ireland, and then to the Continent for three years. I passed the evening at Lady Jersey's *en petit comité*. Mr. Brougham was there and told us that Billy Austin,² the *protégé* of Queen Caroline, wife of George IV., was supposed to be a son of Prince William of Prussia.

June 28th. Saw the King proclaimed in London and in the city. I was with Prince Frederick of Prussia at Child's Bank, which belongs to Lady Jersey and is situated by the side of Temple Bar, whence we saw the ceremony of the royal procession demanding permission to enter the city, and the Lord Mayor on the other side of the Bar in a carriage drawn by six horses waiting to give it. The crowd was tremendous.

June 29th. The ministers have presented a message to the King, telling him that they are unable to carry on the Government with the present Parliament, and asking that he shall take provisional measures so that those remaining can finish up matters. An address of condolence on the death of the late King and of congratulation on the new sovereign's accession to the throne was voted. The late King's will cannot be found. They say that only a short time before his death he had drawn out £300,000. The Conyngham family is suspected of having made away with the best part of this. The wealth accumulated by them during the ten years they have been about the King must be immense.

June 30th. The second part of the address relative to the provisional measures to be taken during the interval between the existing Parliament and a new one were discussed. The three parties comprising the Opposition—the ultra-Royalists, the Whigs and the Canningites—united

¹ The Catholic Emancipation Bill. This may be so, but no doubt the audience was given to the Duke as Earl Marshal in view of his co-operation in the funeral ceremonies of the late King.

² See Huish's *Life of Queen Caroline, etc.*, for details as to this boy. Queen Caroline's protection of him gave rise to ill-natured scandal, and was an example of her indiscretion.

themselves against the Government, in order to protest against the prorogation of Parliament before matters are finished and before a Regency has been provided for, in the event of the present King's death during the time no Parliament is sitting. Nevertheless the Ministers obtained a majority in spite of the eloquence displayed by Lords Grey, Lansdowne, Eldon, Mansfield and Goderich.

The attitude of the King to his Ministers, and that of the public to the King on his accession, are known to readers of Greville's journals, where the opening pages of volume 2 are filled with anecdotes and reflections on the matter. In Neumann's Diary we have, under date of July 1st, both the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen telling him that 'the King shows a most friendly disposition to them,' and this is confirmed by Greville's statement that the new sovereign threw himself into the arms of the Duke of Wellington with the strongest expressions of confidence and esteem. The fact is that in spite of obvious shortcomings and strange eccentricities William was a welcome change after George, who could never be got to attend to business, who kept Ministers waiting in his anteroom while he was toying with favourites, and who in these respects resembled Charles II. without his cleverness or his wit.

July 3rd. To-day the King received the ambassadors and ministers accredited to the Court of St. James's. In my capacity of *Chargé d'Affaires* I had no right to attend, but Lord Aberdeen informed me that an exception would be made in my case, and that I should therefore be present. As a matter of fact I was the only *charge d'affaires* there. The King received me very graciously. He was in naval uniform. Lord Conyngham acted as Lord Steward.

July 4th. Dined at Lord Hertford's with the Duke of Wellington, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Mrs. Arbuthnot and M. Matuscewitz. The King received the Sacrament in the chapel of St. James's Palace with his brothers the Dukes of Sussex and Cumberland. He afterwards received the archbishops and bishops and the judges and made them a speech.

July 7th. Saw the Duke of Wellington, who seemed very surprised at the sudden return of Madame de Lieven, who was not expected till the 20th. My theory is that foreseeing the death of the King she hastened her return in the hope that a change of Ministry would take place.

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July 10th. Received the news of the capture of Algiers on the 5th of July, that is to say in five days from the coast of Africa, which proves the utility of the telegraph!

July 15th. The funeral of the King took place to-day at Windsor. I was prevented by indisposition from being present.

Princess Esterhazy had gone on the 16th to Richmond to recuperate, and Neumann mentions going down there the next day to see her, when, notwithstanding bad weather, they went on the Terrace at 7 o'clock, no doubt to see the famous view, and returned on foot to the Castle Hotel, an old inn long since demolished, where, by the way, a magnificent *fête* was given by Prince Schwarzenberg in 1838 in honour of Queen Victoria's coronation, and where apparently Princess Esterhazy was staying.

July 19th. Dined with Lord Aberdeen, who did not, however, return from the House of Lords till 9.30; he was accompanied by the Duke of Wellington. Prince Frederick of Prussia, the Bulows, the Duke of Gordon and Lady Jersey were the other guests. The last told me that Madame de Lieven, who had arrived a few days previously, wished to see the King, but was told that he would receive her at the same time as he did the other ambassadors' wives. The King has made a great sensation by walking alone up St. James's Street.¹

July 21st. Lunched with the Duke of Wellington, whither came the King and Queen after they had been at the review of the Household troops. There had also been a *Levée*, but I preferred to go to Richmond, the weather being delicious. I went on the river with the Princess and Rosa (her daughter) as far as Pope's Villa at Twickenham.²

July 23rd. The King prorogued Parliament in person, the King of Würtemburg who arrived in the morning being present at the ceremony. Dined with the Batthyans and went with them to Vauxhall.³

¹ One remembers Greville's horror at this innovation.

² In 1807 it was bought by Lady Howe, who, however, pulled down Pope's original dwelling. The present Pope's Villa does not stand on the site, but is close to it.

³ These gardens were very favourite ones. In 1833 no fewer than 27,000 people paid 1s. entrance on a single day. Ducrow and his horses were one of the attractions about this time.

July 25th. The King and the King of Würtemburg dined with the Duke of Wellington. The King made a speech to show that he placed his entire confidence in his Prime Minister.¹

July 26th. Grand review in Hyde Park for the King of Würtemburg. The crowd was immense, the heat excessive. Lunched with the Duke of Wellington, the King and Queen being present. They were condescending enough to speak to me and to invite me to the palace. There had been an installation of the Order of the Garter for the King of Würtemburg, and a dinner afterwards. The ambassadors of Austria, the Netherlands and France had some disputes over their relative rank and as regards that of Prince Frederick of Prussia, son of the Duchess of Cumberland by her first marriage with Prince Louis of Prussia, brother of the reigning King. The King (of England) declared that he regarded him as belonging to his own family, and Prince Leopold and the Duke of Gloucester gave him precedence as to a foreigner of distinction, which prevented the ambassadors from insisting on their rights, the etiquette being that they should come after the last two (Prince Leopold and the Duke of Gloucester). The day ended with a fancy dress ball at the Duke of Wellington's at which the two Kings were present. It was just a month since George IV. died.

Neumann has hardly finished telling us that he has received his title of Baron (July 27th), and that he has had news of the dissolution of the new Parliament in Paris and the abolition of the liberty of the Press, before he hears of the tremendous upheaval which in three days overthrew Prince Polignac and sent Charles X. into exile.

July 30th. Received news from Paris that on the 27th there was a great massacre there ; the royal guard stood firm but two of the line regiments went over to the popular party.

July 31st. Heard of another massacre on the 28th, chiefly at the Hotel de Ville, which was taken and retaken three times between the national guards, the students of

¹ See Greville's long and amusing account of this incident; *Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 13-15.

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the Polytechnic schools, the people, and the King's body-guard, which last were obliged to yield and had to march out of Paris to St. Cloud, where the King and his Ministers are. Two regiments went over to the insurgents. General Gérard commanded the National Guard. A Committee was formed at the Hotel de Ville composed of General Gérard, the Marquis de Choiseul, General Lafayette,¹ M. Odier and M. Casimir Périer.² The tricolour is floating from the Tuileries !

Aug. 1st. Dined in Regent's Park at Lord Hertford's. The Duke of Wellington told me that it would be necessary for England to have an understanding with Austria and Russia concerning the present affairs in France, in consequence of the secret protocol of the Quadruple Alliance concluded between the four Powers at Aix-la-Chapelle.³

Aug. 2nd. The news received from France to-day, dated July 31st, says that a provisional Committee has been established and that the Duc d'Orléans has accepted the offer to be Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom which has been made to him, and has hoisted the tricolour flag. Nobody knows exactly where the King (Charles X.) is.

Aug. 3rd. The King of France is at Trianon with 4,000 of his guards, and there are about 7,000 of them between the bridges of Sèvres and Neuilly. The Dauphin is with him. During the days of the 27th and 28th July he lost 6,000 men of the Constitutional and 3,000 of the Guards, as well as 3,000 of the Line. Calm was established on the 30th. General opinion is strongly in favour of the new order of things in France and is against the recent acts of Charles X.

Aug. 5th-6th. Lunched at the Tower of London, where the Duke of Wellington held a review of the Grenadier Guards. News has been received that the King of France, after having abdicated, thought better of it, and they say that General Gérard has marched on Rambouillet with 20,000 men. The Duc d'Orléans opened the Chambers on

¹ The famous Lafayette of the Revolution. The 'Grandison-Cromwell' of Carlyle's phrase. *B* 1757, *d*. 1834.

² *B.* 1777, *d* 1832. Grandfather of the French President of that name.

³ Signed October 9th, 1818.

August 3rd by a speech in which he promised to maintain the charter. The King of France has now positively abdicated in favour of the Duc de Bordeaux and has gone to Cherbourg.

Aug. 9th. Received the news that the crown has been offered to the Duc d'Orléans and that he has accepted it. At the same time everything in France tends towards republicanism. A prince raised to the throne by the will of the people can be as easily overthrown when he no longer suits them. The Duc d'Orléans has given a pension from his private purse to Rouget de L'Isle,¹ the author of the *Marseillaise*, to the sound of which his father *Egalité* was led to the scaffold. If this is the price he has to pay for popular favour, this hymn may easily bring him to the same end.

Aug. 10th. Prince Augustus of Prussia was to have dined with us, but he was invited to Windsor by the King, where Count Haugwitz also went in order to present to His Majesty the letter of congratulation on his accession sent by the Emperor (of Austria). The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Elizabeth of Hesse-Homburg arrived in London. My departure for the Continent has been put off through fear of not finding Prince Metternich at Königswarth.

Aug. 11th. Went with Madame Batthyany to Rundell and Bridges, where we saw the silver-gilt cistern ordered by the late King, which was to cost £10,000. It contains 8,000 ounces of silver. It is the finest thing of the kind ever made.² From there we went to the florist Lodge at Hackney, famous for the remarkable orchids he grows.

Aug. 13th. Went to the Surrey Theatre with the Esterhazys, Madame Batthyany and Count Haugwitz, to see *Black-eyed Susan*.³

Aug. 14th. Again to the Surrey with Princess Esterhazy

¹ B. 1760, d. 1836. He composed the *Marseillaise* in April 1792. It was first called 'Chant de Guerre pour l'Armée du Rhin.'

² This is the famous cistern in which some of the royal family have been christened.

³ It was written by Douglas Jerrold and was first played in 1829. In that year alone it was performed four hundred times.

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and Lord Glengall.¹ Saw a piece representing the last French revolution. The new Revolution, by the way, goes on in a manner which will bring about anarchy. A Ministry of entirely liberal proclivities has been constituted, as might have been expected. Will it be able to contend against both the republican and royalist parties which begin to menace it?

Dinners at Greenwich and Richmond with the Esterhazys and some of their circle, finishing up in the latter case by an evening at Vauxhall, are noted on August 15th and 16th. The Richmond dinner probably took place at the Star and Garter² on the Hill, for Neumann remarks that while walking afterwards on the Terrace his party met Madame de Lieven, 'who pretended not to see us, on which we did the same.' There follow some references to Charles X., then flying from his country.

Aug. 17th. Received news that the King of France has arrived at Spithead, near Portsmouth. No one has been sent to meet him, and everybody is waiting to see what he will do next.

Aug. 18th. The Duchesses d'Angoulême and de Berry have disembarked at Cowes with the Duc de Bordeaux and his sister. The King remained on board the vessel, which is an American merchantman named *The Great Britain*, where he awaits the reply of the English Government to his request for an asylum in this country.

Aug. 19th. They have permitted the King, Charles X., to land until he has received a reply from Austria, where he has also asked for an asylum. He is going to stay at Lulworth Castle in Dorsetshire.

Aug. 22nd. Dined at Baron Bülow's with Prince Augustus of Prussia, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Aberdeen. The Duke spoke to me about the arrival of General Baudran, sent by the Duc d'Orléans to announce his elevation to the throne. The Duke told me that they could no longer hesitate to acknowledge the new King; that he had said to General Baudran that he hoped the Duc d'Orléans meant to respect the maintenance of peace;

¹ Richard Butler, Baron Cahir (b. 1775), was created Earl of Glengall in 1816. His son Richard (b. 1794), the second Earl, whom Neumann mentions, married in 1834, but died without issue in 1858, when the title became extinct.

² It is, of course, no longer in existence.

that he (Wellington) did not doubt it, but that it was to be hoped that he had the strength to do so.

Aug. 23rd. Dined with Lord Glengall, where Marshal Marmont¹ and M. de la Rue his aide-de-camp were present. The Marshal said that he had dined on July 25th at St. Cloud, the day on which the famous ordinances were signed ; that nothing whatever was said to him about the matter ; and that on the 26th he received the order to take command of the troops in Paris in his quality of Major-General of the Guards about the King's person ; that the whole garrison of Paris did not exceed 7,300 foot-soldiers and 700 cavalry, only having provisions and ammunition sufficient for the day ; that no one foresaw the development of force on the part of the Parisians or so sturdy a resistance as they put up ; that he was obliged to withdraw from the city ; that he wrote three times to the King during the 28th to tell him that he could not hold his ground, having already lost 3,000 men ; that the commissioners who came to his chief of staff only asked for the revocation of the ordinances and the dismissal of the Ministers, and that the latter being at hand he had made known these propositions to them ; that they had discussed the matter with the commissioners and refused to listen to their demands, when all was already lost. He said that during the march to Cherbourg there was absolutely no demonstration in the King's favour, but that on the contrary the four commissioners who accompanied him were frequently obliged to repress the fury of the people. At Rambouillet the King seemed to wish still to resist by force of arms, but the means were insufficient, and when he said to Marshal Marmont, 'I believe this is the moment to perish,' the latter replied, 'If there was a chance of saving Your Majesty we should all be ready to die for you, but as it is impossible, I must assure you that none of us has any taste for becoming a martyr.' The Marshal speaks most disdainfully of the Dauphin, who exhibited the utmost insensibility to all that was happening.

Aug. 24th. Dined at Lord Dudley's with the Agar

¹ Duc de Raguse (b. 1774, d. 1852). He tried to suppress the revolution of 1830. His *Mémoires* were published in 1856-7, four years after his death.

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Ellises, Lady Keith¹ and Madame Flahault, the last beam-ing with joy at all that has recently happened in Paris.

Aug. 25th. General Baudran was received by the King to-day, a fact which has established the recognition of the King of the French.²

Aug. 29th. Received the news of an insurrectionary movement in Brussels, on the 26th, headed by workpeople who pillaged several houses without doing themselves any good. The military, composed solely of two battalions, took up a position in the Place Royale, and the City Guard organised itself at once and was able to restore order, but the excitement was intense.

Aug. 30th. Dined at Lord Hertford's, where Mr. Vyner, trying to jump on to the back of a statue in the middle of a basin of water in the garden, fell head over heels into the basin, which contained five feet of water.

Sept. 1st. Went to Hampton Court and Richmond with Marshal Dietrichstein and Vallenburg. Dined with the Falcks. The news from the Netherlands is to the effect that the Prince of Orange and his brother, Prince Frederick, have departed for Antwerp; that the King has convoked the States General; that there has been a good deal of unrest at Liège, Bruges, Antwerp and Tournai; that a deputation, at the head of which was Comte de Mérode, had set out from Brussels for the Hague to demand the redressing of various grievances.

Sept. 4th. The Prince of Orange has entered Brussels alone, without the tricolour of Brabant being lowered, which he ought not to have done. The people of Liège have also sent a deputation to the King with a list of their grievances. There have been troubles in Aix-la-Chapelle and Düsseldorf.³

The following entries in the Diary are concerned with one of those annual tours which Neumann was in the habit of making in the

¹ She was Miss Mercer Elphinstone, and became Lady Keith-Nairne in her own right.

² This was the title by which Louis Philippe was known in contra-distinction to the old one of King of France.

³ Belgium, hitherto one with Holland, revolted in 1830; the resistance of Holland to the separation being subdued with the aid of France and England during 1831-3.

company of various friends. On September 7th he left London for Cheltenham, where Princess Esterhazy and her children had already taken up their abode 'in a charming little house.' The Diarist remained here till the 21st, taking the waters and visiting interesting spots in the neighbourhood, Tewkesbury, the Seven Springs, Cirencester, and the Valley of Chalford among others. On the 17th he records the accident¹ by which Mr. Huskisson lost his life :

Sept. 17th. Mr. Huskisson, who was present at Liverpool for the opening of the new railway between that town and Manchester, was knocked down by one of the engines, which broke his leg and his thigh in such a way that amputation was impossible. A cry of horror succeeded to that of joy which the completion of this magnificent enterprise had occasioned. More than 300,000 people were congregated between the two towns to witness the passing of the carriages propelled by a steam engine going at the rate of thirty miles an hour. The Duke of Wellington, Prince Esterhazy, Count Matuscewitz and Mr. Huskisson were in the first train, which stopped to take in water. They got out in order to witness this being done, and it was at this moment that another train called *The Rocket* arrived at such a speed that Mr. Huskisson, less agile than the others, and being just too late to avoid the train, was the victim of this remarkable invention. They were, however, obliged to continue the journey to Manchester in spite of the protests of the Duke of Wellington ; but an assemblage of 300,000 people awaited the trains in that town, and fearing a riot if they were disappointed, the Directors insisted and the Duke gave way.

On September 21st Neumann left Cheltenham for Malvern in his tilbury, the Princess Esterhazy and her family having preceded him. There he stayed at the Belle Vue Hotel and made various excursions in the environs. Prince Esterhazy was also there but apparently not in a very pleasant humour, and although as Neumann says despatches awaited him everywhere, he did not seem to care about them or anything else ! One day they went to see the Beauchamps at Madresfield, on another to Worcester, 'a pretty and prosperous town where there is a fine manufactory of china and a magnificent cathedral.' But the expedition was in other ways not a success, for

¹ The accident occurred at Eccles near Manchester on September 15th. Mr. Huskisson was just over sixty at the time.

D I A R Y O F P H I L I P P V O N N E U M A N N

besides the Prince not being in a good temper for some reason or other, Neumann had on the 26th what he calls a 'frightful dispute with the Princess, who altogether lost her head.' However, she became calmer in the evening and gradually regained her good humour. We are not told the secret of these domestic broils, but Neumann, obviously on account of them, decided to return to London, and indeed refused an invitation to dinner from the Duchess of Kent who had a house in the neighbourhood. He left on the 28th by the stage-coach 'The Retaliator,' which was so crowded that it carried no fewer than sixteen people. On his return he saw a good deal of the Duke of Wellington, and met Talleyrand on several occasions both in London and the country. Indeed, the entries in the Diary for October are especially interesting for these and other matters recorded, and in consequence have not required much elimination. The general European unrest at this time is reflected in the last entry for September.

Sept. 29th. News has been received that Prince Frederick of Orange has been obliged to evacuate Brussels after some very murderous combats between his troops and the rebels. Ostend and Bruges have also risen.

Oct. 1st-2nd. Saw the Duke of Wellington, who read me a document he had prepared, the object of which is to propose to France concerted action with the four allied Powers in order to restore peace in the Netherlands.

Saw the Duke again on the matter we discussed yesterday. It has not yet been brought before the Privy Council. The Duke seemed very preoccupied and even in a bad humour.

Oct. 3rd. Met the Duke, who told me that the matter had been approved by the Privy Council. Wrote a despatch to Vienna concerning this affair, which was sent off by Count H. de Bombelles.

Oct. 4th. The States General have pronounced the formal separation of Belgium from Holland. It is to be feared that it is, however, too late, the rebels having already obtained what it was desired to accord them as a favour. I was present at the reappearance of Miss Kemble as *Juliet*, with the Throckmortons and Batthyans. Lord Chesterfield is to marry Miss Forester,¹ the engagement having been arranged at Lady Wilton's place, Heaton Park.

¹ Anne, daughter of the 1st Lord Forester. The marriage took place on November 30th (see note on p. 230). Lady Chesterfield died in 1885, aged 82.

Oct. 5th. Dined at the Duke of Wellington's with the Duchesses de Dino and Canizzaro, Lord and Lady Burghersh, Prince Talleyrand, Esterhazy, Matuscewitz, Baron Bulow, Lord Alvanley and Mr. Croker. Talleyrand, in spite of his great age, is as quick and ready as ever. He told me that the King, Charles X., acted under the conviction that he was charged with 'a mission ;' that he issued his ordinances in all good faith because he believed that he was authorised to do so by Article 14 of the Charter ; that on Wednesday July 28th he was still King of France and would be now if he had been willing on that day to dismiss his Ministers and revoke the ordinances. In speaking of M. de Polignac he said he hoped he would escape capital punishment, but that he made a bad defence in saying that he had only done what he had been ordered to do, whereas Peyronnet¹ excited a sentiment of interest by the calm and noble character of his justification.

Oct. 6th. Dined with the Throckmortons and from there went to a *souirée* at Lady Glengall's, where I met Talleyrand, Madame de Dino and the Burghershes. Lord Burghersh asked Madame de Dino² how her husband was. ' *Ma foi*,' said she, ' I don't know anything about him.'

Oct. 9th. In the absence of more important topics everyone is talking of the marriage of Lord Chesterfield and Miss Forester. Lady Jersey has written to M. de Talleyrand asking that if Prince Polignac is to be executed it shall not take place till after the confinement of his wife. Madame de Lieven, recently at Brighton, was at the King's (The Pavilion) when the Duke of Wellington, also there, received a message by special messenger which so excited her curiosity that she begged the Queen to ask His Majesty what news had arrived. The Queen thereupon did so openly, saying to the King, ' Madame de Lieven wants to know what the Duke of Wellington has told you,' which placed Madame de Lieven in a very embarrassing position.

Oct. 12th. Went to Middleton Park with Prince Ester-

¹ He was among the four Ministers of Charles X. imprisoned at Ham ; he was liberated in October 1836. The three other persons were Polignac, Chateauleauze and Guernon de Ranville.

² She was niece of Talleyrand, who left her his universal legatee. Her very voluminous memoirs are well known.

hazy, where we found the Princess and her daughter, who had come over from Malvern, Lord and Lady Sefton, Lord Auckland, Mr. Byng, the Duchesse de Dino and Prince Talleyrand, who is a perfect mine of anecdotes. In speaking of Bonaparte, whom he always calls the Emperor, he said that he had never been guilty of spoliation and that on the contrary 'there were few people to whom he had not given, or returned, or permitted to keep, something ;' overlooking his great spoliations (of territory, etc.) as if they did not count. He calls the late French Revolution of July the true Restoration ; that of 1814 being merely a transition, forgetting that he himself had been the mainspring of the latter, and that he had worked hard in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna to bring about the former.

Oct. 19th. Dined at Prince Talleyrand's, who was in great good humour and told us many anecdotes of Garrick, Mrs. Siddons, the Mesdemoiselles Dumesnil and Clairon, and of Sheridan and Voltaire, of whom he had been the contemporary. Concerning the last, he said he had the most comprehensive mind of anyone he had ever known and that he considered Mdlle. Dumesnil the greatest tragic actress of all time—because she was on every occasion of life 'a tragedienne.' He was one day with the Princess Dolgorouki at Mdlle. Dumesnil's, whom he found dining at a little table on which there was a small piece of beef, she being waited on by a little man-servant, to whom she said in a tragic tone : 'Take away this dish and place chairs.' He praised Sheridan, of whom he had once seen a good deal, very highly. He told me that M. d'Haussez, a colleague of M. de Polignac, M. Peyronnet, etc., whose trial is being prepared at the moment in Paris, had been seen two days ago at Newmarket races. 'It is not a crime, but a blunder,'¹ he added. In the morning I went to the city with Princess Esterhazy and Baron Charles Hügel, and lunched off turtle soup at the London Tavern.

Oct. 20th. The Duchesse de Berry, travelling under the name of the Marquise de Rosny, arrived in London for a stay of a fortnight. She must apparently be always mov-

¹ Of course, the classic instance of Talleyrand's using the now famous phrase was concerning the murder of the Duc d'Enghien.



Charles Maurice de Talleyrand
26 June 1834

PRINCE TALLEYRAND
(CHARLES MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD)
From a sketch made in London on 26th June, 1834, by Carl Vogel von Vogelstein

ng about, which is little suitable to her position. The royal family is leaving Lulworth Castle for Holyrood, the ancient palace of the Kings of Scotland at Edinburgh. The Prince of Orange has caused to be published (on the 16th instant) a proclamation at Antwerp by which he places himself at the head of the popular party in Belgium, whilst the King his father in a speech made on the 18th, in which he appears to be ignorant of his son's curious move, speaks of the help he hopes to obtain from the Allies in order to bring back a state of tranquillity to the revolting provinces.

Oct. 21st. There has been another popular demonstration at Paris, demanding the death of Charles X.'s ministers. The mob went to the Palais Royal, and they were obliged to place the whole of the National Guard, to the number of 54,000 men, under arms. They paraded the streets of Paris during the nights of the 19th and 20th. The Provisional Government at Brussels has not recognised the action of the Prince of Orange by which he placed himself at the head of the popular party. The Provisional Government states that it is the head of affairs and can recognise no other.

A few passages in the Diary are concerned with matters of little importance, such as visits to the city with the Duchesse de Dino, and to the Adelphi Theatre in the evening; a grand dinner at the Austrian Embassy, with no comments but a list of guests; a visit to the Soho Square Bazaar, once a favourite place for buying things and seeing side-shows. Neumann records on the 26th the re-election of Manners Sutton as Speaker, 'one of my great friends, whose father was Archbishop of Canterbury,' he adds; and the presentation at the Palace by Prince Talleyrand of the new personnel of the French Embassy. 'I never thought,' comments the Diarist, 'when twenty-four years ago I saw him (Talleyrand) at the brilliant court of Bonaparte at the Tuilleries and St Cloud, that I should witness him representing his country at that of St. James's under such different conditions.' Many others have wondered at the phenomenon!

Oct. 28th. The King and Queen went in state to Drury Lane, where they were received with enthusiasm by the public. Lord Jersey, the Lord Chamberlain, offered his box to the ambassadors' wives. Princess Esterhazy was covered with jewels, but her beauty, which is of a most striking kind, and her grace outshone them.

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Oct. 30th. The Count de Ludolf gave a dinner in honour of the Duchesse de Berry, who resembles our Emperor in a most marked degree. There were present Prince and Princess Esterhazy, Madame Falck, M. and Madame Bülow, Lord and Lady Burghersh, Madame de Rouilli and Count Mesnard, in attendance on Madame de Berry, and the Chevalier Zea.¹

A good deal of quietude has been caused in Kent by incendiaries, and everywhere there is a bad spirit abroad among the people, just as there is in France, the aim being to overthrow the aristocracy.

Nov. 1st. News has arrived that Antwerp has been taken by the insurgent Belgians and that the Dutch troops have withdrawn into the Citadel, whence they bombarded the town.

Nov. 4th. The first conference regarding Belgian affairs has taken place. M. de Talleyrand presided most effectively and exhibited a very conciliatory spirit. There has been a great fall in the Funds, caused by fear of war and the declaration of the Duke (of Wellington) that he will oppose every kind of parliamentary reform, which may result in his being obliged to leave the Government if there is a majority against him among its members.

Nov. 5th. The conference concerning Belgium has resolved to send two commissioners to Brussels, an Englishman and a Frenchman, Mr. Cartwright and M. Bresson, first Secretary to the French Embassy, to propose to the Provisional Government a suspension of hostilities, but with strict injunctions not to enter into any discussion with the members of that government.

Nov. 6th. The position of the Duke of Wellington has become critical ever since his declaration against reform. All parties join in attacking him on this question.

Nov. 7th. Dined with Lord Hertford, and a *souirée* at the Duchesse de Dino's. Madame de Lieven, the first time she saw M. de Talleyrand, said to him : 'Eh, bien, mon prince, you have had a revolution.' 'Revolution is not the word, Madame; it is a restoration, and such a one as the Emperor

¹ See further references to this personage in the Diary for 1832 (p. 277) and 1839 (vol 2, pp 114, 115).

Alexander desired in 1815.' Someone observing to M. de Talleyrand that Lady Lyndhurst spoke French very well, · 'Yes,' he said, 'from time to time.'

Nov. 8th. The King, who was to have dined in the city to-morrow, has excused himself, and Sir Robert Peel has written on this occasion a letter to the Lord Mayor saying that it was on the advice of his Ministers, who feared the excesses to which the public might give way, that His Majesty had done so. The fact is that a disturbance in the city was feared, and that the Lord Mayor himself had asked that the ceremony should be postponed.¹ I dined quietly with Prince Talleyrand, who was in great good humour. He told us several delightful anecdotes about the Queen of Prussia² when she was at Tilsit, on which occasion Bonaparte asked her why she had made war against him. 'The glory of the great Frederick made us over-rate our strength,' she replied. To Talleyrand, who quoted this reply to everyone, Bonaparte remarked, 'I don't see any wit in it, it would have been much better to have said nothing at all.' After an interview at which Bonaparte had treated her very rudely, she said to M. de Talleyrand, who conducted her to her carriage: 'There are two people who regret my having come here—you and I.' 'Are you not annoyed?' she added. He said that in her apartments at Berlin or Potsdam there was found a robe of lace which Bonaparte had sent her in earlier days and to which was attached a piece of paper bearing the words, 'I have never worn it.' Speaking of Madame de Staël, he told us that having asked Bonaparte to allow her to return to Paris, he answered, 'Tell her that France is too small for her and me.'

Nov. 9th. There were a few disturbances in the city and in other parts of London to-day, but they were put down by the police, who acted admirably.

Nov. 11th. A *soirée* took place at the Palace, where there were at least six hundred people. All those who had

¹ See Greville, vol. 2, p. 54.

² Louisa, the wife of Frederick William III. She tried in vain to get Napoleon to spare her kingdom, but died in 1810 before she was able to see her enemy overthrown.

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not hitherto been presented were introduced to the Queen, among others Lady Worcester, whom they say Her Majesty did not wish to receive. The evening wound up with dancing. The Funds have risen, so much so in fact that in three days there was a difference of 7 per cent. They say the King does not wish by any means to lose the Duke of Wellington. There appeared at the Court four newly-married brides, Lady Ashley, Lady Seymour, Lady Chesterfield and Lady Clanwilliam.¹ It would be difficult to find any more beautiful than the first three.

After the following entry, which by the way is one of peculiar interest as embodying a fact not generally known, the remainder for this month are chiefly concerned with the fall of Wellington's ministry and the accession to power of Lord Grey.

Nov. 15th. A Regency bill has been brought up in the House of Lords by which it is proposed that in the event of the King's death the Duchess of Kent shall be Regent during the minority of her daughter (Princess Victoria); but that should the Queen be *enceinte* at the time, then that she should be Regent. In the House of Commons the Government were in a minority of 29 on the Civil List Bill, the Opposition having proposed a Committee of Enquiry.

Nov. 16th. The Ministry has offered its resignation to the King. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, realising the impossibility of continuing in office after last night's defeat, announced this to Parliament.

Nov. 17th. The Ministry is not yet formed. They say that much difficulty is being found in doing this. There was an evening party at Lady Aberdeen's, which was crowded. In Paris under similar circumstances the *salon* of a fallen Minister would have been deserted.

Nov. 20th. The new Ministers intend to dismiss all the *employés* of the late administration whatever their position; in a word to make a thorough clearance. Lord Belfast, the King's Vice-Chamberlain, has offered to vote for Lord Grey if he is allowed to retain his post, but this has been refused.

¹ Née respectively Lady Emily Cowper, Jane Seymour, Anne Forester (but the *Peerage* gives the date of her marriage to Lord Chesterfield as November 30th, 1830), and Lady Elizabeth Herbert.

Nov. 21st. There was a grand dinner at the Embassy for the Prince of Orange, who, however, could not come, having been invited by the King. There were present Lord and Lady Jersey, the Falcks, the Burghershess, the Worcesters, the Clanwilliams, the Fitzroy Somersets, Madame de Lieven, the Aberdeens, Madame de Dino, M. de Talleyrand, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Rosslyn and Frank Russell. During dinner a little red morocco box was brought to the Duke of Wellington, in which was a letter from Sir Robert Peel announcing that the Ministers were summoned for to-morrow at 1.30 at the Palace in order to surrender their various seals of office. It is a curious circumstance that it is at our place (the Austrian Embassy) that the chiefs of the Administration which has just expired should receive their last official communication.

Nov. 22nd. The new Ministers were installed to-day. The peers attended in the House of Lords; those who are not nobles have to get re-elected before being able to sit in the House of Commons. The following are the names of those who form what is called the Cabinet. Lord Grey, First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Brougham, Lord Chancellor; the Marquess of Lansdowne, President of the Council; Lord Durham, Keeper of the Privy Purse; Lord Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Lord Melbourne, Home Secretary; Lord Goderich, Colonial Secretary; Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Charles Grant,¹ President of the Board of Control; Lord Auckland, President of the Board of Trade; the Duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General; and Lord Carlisle, without office.²

Everyone is curious to see Lord Brougham take possession of the Woolsack. Lord Grey made a very fine speech outlining his principles: moderate reform, strict economy in every department, etc. He told some of his friends that he would not have accepted office at his age (he is sixty-seven) had he not recognised the impossibility of an Administration being otherwise formed, and that he fore-

¹ Afterwards Lord Glenelg (1835).

² Greville also gives this list, but does not mention Lord Carlisle.

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saw that his end would be like that of Mr. Canning, who died from overwork.

Nov. 23rd. Dined with the Dawson Damers, where were also Frederick Seymour and Byng. Thence to Lady Lansdowne's reception, which was crowded. Lord Belfast, after having his request¹ refused by the King, who referred him to his new Prime Minister who also refused it, and having previously begged the Duke of Wellington before he left office that he would retain him in the event of his returning to the head of affairs, ended by attaining his object through the help of the Duke of Devonshire who had become Lord Chamberlain, and to whom Lady Belfast went to ask that her husband should be allowed to keep his post. He (the Duke) interceded with Lord Grey, who could not refuse so powerful an advocate; and now they call Lord Belfast 'Lord Stickfast.'²

Nov. 25th. Dined at M. de Talleyrand's with Lady Glengall and the Count and Countess D'Orsay. The latter is the charming daughter of Lord Blessington. Her husband is remarkable for the absurdity of his dress.

Nov. 28th. Dined at Lord Westmorland's with the Burghershés, Lady Shelley, Lord Hastings, Lord Valletort and Mr. Drummond, etc. There was an evening party at Lady Anne Beckett's.³ News has been received that the Congress at Brussels has decreed the exclusion of the House of Nassau from the throne for ever by a majority of 160 over 28 votes. What will be the result of this? The disturbances and incendiaryism in Hampshire and Wiltshire have been put down, but continue in other counties. The Lord-Lieutenants have been ordered to return to their various counties.

Neumann closes his record for November by inserting in his Diary a copy of what he not unnaturally calls 'a very singular letter,' written to Prince Esterhazy, on behalf of the Emperor of Austria, by the Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, on the occasion of that high distinction being conferred on the ambassador. The

¹ *Vide supra* (Nov. 20th).

² He became 3rd Marquess of Donegal in 1844. He married a daughter of the Earl of Glengall in 1822.

³ Daughter of Lord Lonsdale, married to Sir John Beckett in 1817.

letter, which runs as follows, must have been received with mixed feelings by the Prince.

‘ His Majesty, our August Sovereign and Chief of the Golden Fleece, has commanded me, as Chancellor of the said Order, to send you, my Prince, the following lines :

‘ Having acquired fresh claims on your gratitude by naming you a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and sincerely desiring that Your Highness should distinguish yourself among the Knights of the said Order, as it is itself most distinguished among its officers by the zealous services it has rendered to His August Person and to the State, His Majesty believes that he will be giving you a fresh proof of his gracious good will in letting you know, through the Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, that you have unfortunately not succeeded hitherto in gaining a wholly sound reputation as regards your private life ; he hopes nevertheless and flatters himself that this paternal admonition will be sufficient to determine Your Highness to conform in future to the statutes and ordinances of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which I have already had the honour of sending you. Having thus expressed the wishes of His Majesty, I am, etc.

‘ VIENNA. *May 30th, 1830.*’

Neumann makes no other comment on this curious document, and passes on to notices of various dinners and so forth at which he had been present. The generally unsettled state of the country as reflected in the strange incident of ‘ one Seck,’ and the loyalty of a certain section of the community, are shown in the following entry :

Dec. 8th. A man named Seck was arrested at the door of the House of Lords, where he had been loitering for the last three days, evidently on the look-out for someone. Everything points to the supposition that he wished to kill the Duke of Wellington, by the questions he asked concerning him. One of the ushers of the House tried to send him away, when Seck pulled out a pistol and aimed it at him, but happily the weapon missed fire.

The King received at the Levée a deputation sent by 8,000 workmen of various trades, who awaited the result in the street outside. The object was to express to His

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Majesty the regret they felt that he had not dined in the city and to offer to him expressions of their fidelity and attachment to his person. His Majesty received the deputation very graciously, which satisfied the artisans, who returned quietly to the city with their banners and band of music.

Dec. 11th. The *Times* of to-day contains the anecdote of Madame de Lieven remarking to Prince Talleyrand, 'Eh, bien, you have had your revolution,' and his reply.

Dec. 14th. The Russian troops have abandoned Warsaw as a result of the disturbance on November 29th, which turns out to have been very serious. A provisional Government has been established, at the head of which is Prince Adam Czartoryski¹; at the same time the authority of the Emperor Nicholas is recognised.

Lord Aberdeen tells me that there is no doubt that the King of France furnished considerable funds in aid of the Spanish refugees in order to assist them in their attempt against their country, which however failed.

Dec. 15th. Dined at Count Munster's with the Duke of Sussex. Prince Talleyrand told us that Benjamin Constant, who has just died,² was the real author of the famous proclamation made by the Duke of Brunswick against France.

Dec. 17th. Things look blacker every day. Revolutions are spreading; that in Poland has taken on a most terrifying aspect. Switzerland is full of unrest, and the King of the Netherlands refuses to raise the blockade of Escaut.

Dec. 18th Dined at Sir Robert Peel's with the Dukes of Gordon, Manchester and Northumberland, the Prince of Orange, the Clarendons, and the Clanwilliams. It is a magnificent house³ and contains a fine collection of pictures of the Dutch school, among others the famous 'Chapeau de Paille' of Rubens, and a number of portraits

¹ B. 1770, d. 1861. He was in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1802-5. In 1831 he became head of the National Government in Poland. The insurrection here noticed finally resulted in Warsaw capitulating to Paskevitch on September 8th, 1831. We meet with Czartoryski again, as a refugee in England, on Feb. 2nd, 1833 (see p. 282).

² December 8th. He was sixty-three.

³ In Whitehall Gardens. The pictures are now in the National Gallery. The famous Rubens should be 'Chapeau de Poil'—a felt, not a straw, hat.

by Sir Thomas Lawrence, among which one of Canning is most striking.

I met to-day Lady Clanricarde,¹ the daughter of Canning, who told me that his memory had been well avenged by the fall of Wellington and the necessity in which the Whigs found themselves of being obliged to include all his friends in their Administration. She said that had he lived he would never have given way to Reform, of which he was the inveterate enemy, and that the power of his eloquence would have stopped it as well as the revolutionary spirit which is now spreading through Europe.

Dec. 20th. Dined with Lord Dudley, where were Lord and Lady Dudley Stuart. The former is the son of the Marquess of Bute, the latter a daughter of Lucien Bonaparte,² ugly and very badly dressed. Mrs. Fox, Lady Radnor, Lord Rosslyn, Charles Greville, Tom Duncombe, and Lord Castlereagh were also there. Passed the evening at the Duchesse de Dino's with General Alava.³ M. de Talleyrand said that the revolutionary movement would penetrate everywhere.

Dec. 22nd Dined at the Master of the Rolls', with Lady Glengall, Lady Clare and her daughter, Mrs. Damer, Mrs. Fox and Lord Castlereagh. In the evening to the Princess Lieven's, where there was a Russian Orchestra, each member of which only played one note on his instrument. The effect is delightful and much resembles that of an organ.

Dec. 23rd. Dined with Prince Talleyrand, who was very disturbed at the state of affairs in Paris. Someone speaking to him about French institutions, asked him in what condition religion was there. 'It is some time since I have heard it mentioned,' he replied.

Dec. 24th. Received the news of the condemnation of the French ex-ministers to perpetual imprisonment and of

¹ She married the 14th Earl and 1st Marquess of Clanricarde on April 4th, 1825. She was the mother of the late Countess of Harewood, and therefore great-grandmother of Lord Lascelles.

² Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart was son of the 2nd Marquess by his second marriage with the second daughter of Thomas Coutts. He married Christiana, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, in 1824.

³ See note on p. 113.

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their removal from the Luxembourg to the Chateau de Vincennes. There were great gatherings in Paris, but the whole of the National Guard and the troops of the line were in readiness.

Dec. 25th. Tranquillity reigns again in Paris. The King appeared on the 22nd on horseback at the head of a patrol of the National Guard, which has produced a magical effect on the people, who acclaimed him with cries of 'Long live the King ; long live the National Guard ; long live Order !' while twenty-four hours previously there had been plots to assassinate the peers, the deputies, and even the King himself, after having commenced with the ex-ministers !

Dec. 28th. Peace in France is far from being re-established. The various parties are quarrelling among themselves, and no one knows who will get the best of it, the Republicans or the Constitutional Monarchs.

Dec. 30th. Heard that General Lafayette had been dismissed and replaced by General Lobau ; of the fall of M. Dupont de l'Eure, who is succeeded by M. Marithou as Keeper of the Seals ; of the nomination of M. Barthe in the place of the latter as Minister of Public Instruction, and of the appointment of M. Baudé to the Prefecture of Police in place of Odillon Barrot. Those who go out are republicans.

Dec. 31st. Ended the year at Prince Talleyrand's, with the North German custom of drinking punch at midnight and embracing each other.

The year which has just closed will remain memorable for the number of great events which have taken place in it. The creation of Greece as an independent state ; the refusal of Prince Leopold to be its King after having accepted the offer of it ; the expulsion of Charles X. and his descendants in the direct line from the throne of France ; the revolution in Belgium and the final separation of that country from Holland ; the rising of the Duchy of Brunswick against its sovereign the Duke Charles ; of Switzerland, and of the Kingdom of Poland against the authority of the Emperor Nicholas ; the fall of the Wellington administration, and its replacement by that of Lord Grey ; the death of the King, George IV., of the King of Naples, and of the Pope.

SECTION VI

DIARY FROM JANUARY 1831 TO DECEMBER 1833

1831

DURING the first three weeks of January Neumann was in London, dining out as indefatigably as ever and interspersing in his Diary political matters (the establishment of Belgium as a separate kingdom was just now exercising the great Powers) with the gossip and anecdotes he picked up at the tables or in the drawing-rooms of his friends, as well as remarks and criticisms on such plays as he went to. During this year he appears to have been on very intimate terms with Madame de Dino, although, as we shall see, a younger lady (young enough to have been his daughter, apparently) for a time at least put her nose out of joint, as the saying is. On January 1st we find him passing the evening at Madame de Dino's and making her a New Year's present.

Jan. 3rd. Dined at Sir Thomas Hardy's,¹ one of the Lords of the Admiralty. He was the captain of the vessel (*The Victory*) on which Nelson died at the Battle of Trafalgar. He is rear-admiral of the Blue. The English Navy is divided into three ranks, and each rank into three grades: admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral; each rank into red, white and blue flags. Thus there are nine steps to pass before attaining the highest, that of Admiral.

Jan. 5th. Dined at the Falcks and passed the evening at Lord and Lady Holland's. It is ten years since we dared do this. The Belgian Commissioners, M. Van der Weyer and Count Villain XIV.,² have arrived.

¹ *B.* 1769, *d.* 1839. It was in his arms that Nelson expired, and to him he gave his last pregnant command: 'Anchor, Hardy, anchor.'

² Sylvain Van der Weyer became Belgian Ambassador. Count Villain's grandfather being made a peer by Louis XIV., the King asked him if he wished to change his name, on which he replied that all he asked for was to be allowed to place the numeral after it, so that his family might never forget the creator of their title.

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Jan. 12th. Passed the evening at Madame de Dino's. M. de Talleyrand told us that when the Abbe Siéyès was asked if he had read Kant, he replied, 'No, because he feared that if he did he would get to like him too much.' Recently when people were crowding into the courtyard of the Palais Royal, and someone asked what so much noise was about, 'Oh, it's nothing,' replied one of the people, 'it's only the sovereign who is about to pay a visit to the King.'¹

Jan. 14th. They want to extend the frontier of Greece from the Gulf of Arta to that of Volo. France even offers to give up her possessions in Africa in order that Candia may be added to Greece. England does not hurry to recognise Dom Miguel.² She does not dispute with the Emperor Nicholas the right of reducing his rebellious Polish subjects to obedience, but says that should he afterwards wish to introduce another system or a form of government varying from that recognised by the treaties, it would then become a subject for the consideration of the Powers. An absurd attitude, particularly at a moment when they are occupied in infringing the treaties which created the Netherlands into a kingdom from much more powerful reasons than those by which Alexander I. made Poland a kingdom.

Jan. 20th. Yesterday there was a Conference over Belgian affairs which lasted three hours, till 10 o'clock at night, when it was proposed and resolved to establish the neutrality of Belgium. It would be the height of absurdity if five great Powers could not bring to reason a handful of factious ones who defy and flout their friendly efforts. The Prince of Orange has issued a proclamation drawn up by Lord Grey, of which a great mystery has been made, but which appeared in the French newspapers before it was meant to reach Belgium. Passed the evening at Lady Glengall's, where I found the Prince of Orange, gay, smiling, and playing at trifling games as if he had just come into a kingdom. He seems a nice kind of man, but feeble,

¹ The Sovereign being Louis Philippe (then Duke of Orleans), the King, Charles X.

² He was then on the throne of Portugal, which he had usurped. See note on p. 174.

and without the necessary qualifications for governing a people as restless as the Belgians. One looks in vain for anything in him which compensates for the qualities he lacks. Yesterday I went with Madame de Dino to pay a visit to Mansfield at Kenwood. She is a delightful talker, and is full of charm, sprightliness and 'go,' the whole heightened by good taste and exquisite manners.

Jan. 21st. Saw Milman's tragedy of *Fazio*.¹ It is well written and full of great beauties. Miss Kemble plays the part of Bianca to perfection.

Jan. 23rd. Saw Madame de Dino, who told me about her *affaires de cœur*, and of one she has now on hand but which is dying out.

The King of the Netherlands cannot make up his mind to give up the sovereignty of his country, and would only permit the Prince of Orange to rule as a Viceroy if the Crown were offered him.

On January 24th Neumann left London for Middleton Park with Prince Nicholas Esterhazy. He found a large house party there, but by the 27th they seem to have dispersed, as he speaks of remaining alone with his hostess, Lady Jersey, and remarks that everything went on as if the house was still full of visitors, except that at dinner 'each of us had at our side a little round table of several stages containing all we wanted. These tables are called dumb waiters, the servants only coming in when rung for.' The next day he goes on to Buckland Park, seeing Oxford, and particularly All Souls, on his way. At Buckland there was a Hunt Ball, where he met his friend Lady Barrington,² and made the acquaintance of Mrs. Moreton,³ 'daughter of Lord Sherborne, very pretty; her husband is the eldest son of Lord Ducie, and a great follower of the hounds.' The Moretons were then living at Faringdon in Berkshire, and on the following day Neumann walked over to see them, 'nine miles there and back,' he says. On February 1st in the midst of a great frost (they were skating on the lake in Middleton Park) he returns to town, taking eleven hours to do the sixty-eight miles!

¹ It was written at Oxford and published in 1815. It was first performed at Covent Garden on Feb 5th, 1818, with Miss O'Neill in the caste. Milman is better remembered by his *History of the Jews*, 1830. He was born in 1791, and died in 1868.

² Daughter of the 1st Lord Ravensworth, and wife of the 8th Viscount Barrington.

³ She was daughter of the 2nd Lord Sherborne, and married in 1826 Mr. Moreton, who became 2nd Earl of Ducie.

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Feb. 3rd France is intriguing at Brussels in order to get the Duc de Nemours¹ elected King, while asserting that she wants nothing of the kind. The English government has declared that if that country consented to such a choice it would consider it contrary to engagements made with the other Powers. England is having the navy put in commission, and is ready for war if France enters Belgium or accepts the crown for the Duc de Nemours.

Feb. 4th. Prince Talleyrand, Madame de Dino, Lady Jersey, the Bathyanys, Lord Alvanley, Montrond, Flahault and Francis Russell dined with us (the Austrian Embassy). M. de Talleyrand remarked that 'Belgian affairs are not arranged, they are determined.'

Feb. 6th. This morning news was received of the election of the Duc de Nemours to the throne of Belgium. In the evening a messenger brought the news to M. de Talleyrand that the King of the French had refused his consent. France had intrigued for this, and did not desist until it received a declaration from England pointing out that she (France) would fail in her engagements to the Powers if she accepted this offer. What proves the intrigue is that the National Congress protested against the protocol of January 20th, fixing the division of the debt and the territorial limits of the two countries, at the same time as M. Sebastiani² wrote a letter to the French Commissioner in Brussels, M. Bresson, enjoining him to oppose the presentation of the protocol, the objects with which it had to deal being beyond the competence of the conference in London, which was only one of mediation. M. Bresson encouraged the nomination of the Duc de Nemours by every means in his power, distributing bribes on all sides. M. de Talleyrand said that it was done to prevent the nomination of the Duke of Leuchtenberg; but the protocol of January 20th accepted by the French Government and disapproved by Sebastiani's letter to Bresson proves that if England had not put obstacles in the way of the Duc de Nemours accepting the crown,

¹ Second son of Louis Philippe, b. 1814, d. 1896.

² French Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1830-2; Ambassador in London, 1835-40. He was born in 1772, and died in 1851. (See also vol 2, p. 207.)

France would not have let slip such an excellent occasion for the advancement of one of its princes, wishing to obtain for herself a more extended frontier than that fixed by the protocol. M. de Talleyrand was either a stranger to, or an accomplice of, the intrigue ; in the former case would he not have recognised such double-dealing on the part of his Government ; in the latter how does that place him with His Majesty's (the English) Government ?

Feb. 7th. Dined at M. de Falck's. The Prince of Orange was present, but seemed in no way disconcerted at having lost all chance of the Belgian throne.

Feb. 9th. Evening parties at the Lansdownes', Salisburys', and Dudley Stuarts', where they had some *tableaux vivants*. The Prince of Orange took part in them and represented Leicester in a group of the Queens Elizabeth and Mary. The reckless gaiety of the Prince shows how little he regrets his lost throne.

Feb. 11th. Lord Althorp last night brought in the budget, in which he proposes to abolish certain taxes and to create new ones, such as $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the transfer of stocks and land, and a levelling of the duties on French and Portuguese wines. The sinking fund will be exhausted by this new project, and these measures will probably meet with great opposition.

Feb. 12th. David made his *début* in the opera of *Ricciardo and Zoraide*. Although his voice is not what it was, yet he sings still with so much beauty and taste that he succeeds admirably. I hear that a revolution has broken out in Modena, Bologna and Reggio. Cardinal Capellari has been elected Pope, and has chosen the title of Gregory XVI.¹

Feb. 13th. There is no talk of anything but the Budget and the absurd measures proposed by Lord Althorp,² which brought together his friends to-day when they told him they could not support the taxation of the funds,

¹ B 1765, d. 1846. The popular risings in the Papal States here noticed were only able to be suppressed by Austrian aid. Neumann was presented to Gregory XVI a few weeks before the Pope's death. (See *Diary* for April 8th, 1846.)

² Greville says : 'Feb. 13th. The Budget which was brought forward two nights ago has given great dissatisfaction.'

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upon which he has announced that he will withdraw the proposed measure.

Feb. 18th. An evening party at Lady Grey's. I returned with the Duchesse de Dino, who was very depressed at the news from Paris, where there was some excitement on the 16th on the occasion of the memorial service for the Duc de Berry at St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The people broke the crucifix of the church, pillaged the Archbishop's house, and destroyed all the ornaments which bore the *fleur de lys*.¹ At the Museum (the Louvre) they smashed a bust of Louis XVIII. The National Guard re-established order.

Feb. 22nd. The Russians have entered Poland at various points. News regarding the revolts in Italy are still very vague. Up to now it seems that Bologna is the only place where the Papal Government has been successful. The Duke of Modena has discovered a conspiracy of which a certain Ciro Menotti is the leader. The French Ministry have been accused of slackness in not foreseeing the troubles in Paris on the 16th.

Feb. 25th. Dined at Talleyrand's with Lady Charlotte Greville, Lady F. Leveson Gower and her husband and Mr. Cradock.² The Duchess of Cumberland had an evening party for the King and Queen. The Duchess of Northumberland has been appointed governess to the Princess Victoria. No better choice could be made,³ but one is astonished that she should have accepted a position which would appear so much below her rank.

Feb. 26th. I had an invitation from the Duchesse de Dino to go and see her, in order apparently that she might merely tell me that she was ill and worried because I had not spoken to her last night at the Duchess of Cumberland's —was I angry with her, because I seemed to be so serious? Then she began to talk of Italy and France and how troubled she was about what was going on there. She

¹ After this incident the church was closed and not re-opened for service till 1837.

² Probably Col. Cradock, afterwards Lord Howden, who had been on a mission to Charles X. in the previous year. See Greville, vol. 2, p. 87.

³ She was Lady Charlotte Clive, daughter of the 1st Earl Powis, and had been married to the 3rd Duke of Northumberland in 1817.

told me she was my friend, and showed it in a number of amiable and affectionate ways, and indeed by a warmth of expression which might have made me think it was more than mere regard had there not been in it an open confidence and avowal of the state of her affections which proved it to be nothing but friendship. She is a curious woman : full of charm, endowed with an active mind and a loving heart ; and yet there is something mysterious and impenetrable about her which makes her still more attractive.

During the first half of March the Diary is not productive of anything of special moment, the entries being for the most part short ones recording Neumann's presence at dinners and evening parties, where he met those with whom, as we have already seen, he was on terms of familiarity. The passage of the Reform Bill was a topic of absorbing interest at this moment, and on March 2nd Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring it in. Greville says : 'To describe the curiosity, the intensity of the expectation and excitement, would be impossible, and the secret had been so well kept that not a soul knew what the measure was (though most people guessed pretty well) till they heard it '¹ That night Neumann dined with the Duke of Wellington, who brought to his guests' notice the now well-known points of the measure, 'a sweeping one indeed, much more so than anyone had imagined,' says Greville, and one can conjecture what was the character of the remarks which the walls of Apsley House (that stronghold of Toryism) re-echoed on this occasion. On the following day Neumann records that Peel made a speech which has 'upset Lord John Russell's measure.' Among other items of information set down in the Diary for this period was the news that the Poles had burnt Praga, a suburb of Warsaw ; that the Austrian troops had entered Bologna at the invitation of the Pope, and that Casimir Périer had formed a new Ministry in France ; while the social topics include the *début* of Miss Mason (a pupil of Pasta) as a singer at a party at Talleyrand's, a magnificent fête given by Lord Londonderry to the King and Queen, where 'the pleasure was paid dearly for by the difficulty of moving ;' and the first ball of the season at Almack's where, however, 'very few people were present.' The chief entries for the rest of the month may be given more or less as they stand.

March 17th. Went with the Duchesse de Dino and Madame Batthyany to see Bone's² enamels. This col-

¹ *Journals*, vol. 2, p 121 *et seq.*

² Henry Bone, R.A. (1755-1834). Enamellist to George III., George IV., and William IV. See *Nollekens and His Times*, vol. 2, p 224.

D I A R Y O F P H I L I P P V O N N E U M A N N

lection is unique of its kind and represents all the outstanding personages of the age of Elizabeth. It consists of portraits which are valued at £7,000. Went afterwards to the florist Chandler to see his camellias. M. de Talleyrand, Madame de Dino, and the Bathyanys dined with us. Later we went to the Olympic and from there to a ball given by Mrs. Smythe for the Prince of Orange.

March 20th. Passed the evening at Lady Bathurst's, Lady Salisbury and Lady Jersey being there also. I arranged to go to Paris in a fortnight's time with Lady Sandwich, who proposed it. The Prince of Orange has left for Holland. He seems little suited for the position he has to occupy; a good fellow but one who will never become a great man; made rather to lose a crown than to regain one.

March 22nd. Dined at Talleyrand's and went to the Opera where the King was to have been, but having received the news of the death of his son-in-law Mr. Erskine Kennedy,¹ his visit was countermanded. This observance of etiquette for the husband of an illegitimate daughter is among the anomalies with which this country abounds. The amendment to the Reform Bill moved by Sir Richard (Hussey) Vivian, that it should be read this day six months, was rejected by a single vote.² This does not prove that the Ministry will be victorious when the Bill is discussed in committee.

March 27th. Dined at Talleyrand's with Count d'Arschot, the Belgian Envoy, and Count Walewski. M. Bresson arrived last night with the proposals of the French Government that Holland should be asked to disarm and to consider the nomination of a sovereign for Belgium, to the exclusion once for all of the Prince of Orange or of any other member of the Nassau family.

On April 3rd Neumann (as indicated above) left for Paris. He travelled to Dover on the stage-coach, in which was 'a deaf and dumb child so ill that in spite of the cold I got outside.' He stayed the night at the York Hotel, Dover, where he found Lady Sandwich and her daughter, Lady Caroline Montagu, and her elder daughter

¹ He married one of the Miss FitzClarences. See Creevey, vol. 2. p. 224.

² 'Majority for our Bill, 1. Devilish near, was it not?'—Creevey.

Lady Henrietta¹ Baring, who had come to see her mother and sister off. At Calais they dined at the famous² Dessein's, and reached Paris on the 6th. There Neumann stayed at the Hotel Dorivilliers in the Rue de Rivoli, not being able to get into the Hotel de Princes, where he usually put up. During the three weeks he spent in Paris he occupied himself in visiting his many friends there, in going to the opera and the theatres, and in dining (when not doing so in private houses) at such well-known places as the Café de Paris and the Trois Frères, etc. On April 8th he dined with the King and Queen, and two days later saw Louis Philippe reviewing his troops, going in the evening to a reception at M. Casimir Périer's, where he had the unusual experience of finding himself among some hundred and fifty people not a soul of whom he knew. Among the English whom he met in Paris he mentions Lord Darlington and his brother Lord Henry Vane, Mr. Hope, Mr. and Mrs. Graham, Mr. Bingham Baring, and Lady Stuart de Rothesay. The unrest prevalent in the capital is indicated in the following passage.

April 8th. Dined with the King. I gave my arm to the Queen and sat next her at table. It would be impossible to receive a more cordial reception or to be treated with greater affability than I am by this family every time I am in Paris. After dinner the King showed me all his apartments and told me that he did not care to dine in the Tuileries because it was too full of sad memories, and that he would go to St. Cloud were it not that that would mean giving up Neuilly. His Majesty kept me in conversation for nearly two hours, talking of state affairs. The talk was too long to be set down here, but his sympathies are towards peace. In the evening I went to a ball at Lady Granville's, where I saw the Duchesse Décazes, whom I should hardly have known, so re-established is she in health which ten years ago seemed to have deserted her for ever.

April 9th. Met Pozzo (di Borgo) who read me two minutes from his despatches to his government concerning our attitude in Italy. Our own ambassador could not have set forth the case more clearly. News has been received of a victory gained by the Poles over the Russian

¹ It should be Harriet. Lady Caroline was the young lady with whom Neumann was in love for a time. See pp. 248, 257 and 265. She married Count Walewski this year

² Sterne has made it so; and see Thackeray's *Roundabout Papers*.

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General Geismer, and they say they have destroyed one of his army corps of 10,000 men. I dined at the Restaurant Lointier with Lady Sandwich and her daughter and Lord Harry Vane. Thence to the Italian Opera, where the Queen had put the royal box at my disposal.

April 16th. Dined at General Pozzo's. There was a serious riot near the Châtelet and at the Place de Grève. As the lowest sort of people were shouting 'Long live the Republic!' the National Guard and the regular troops were called out. They read the riot act three times but the mob would not disperse, insulting on the other hand the National Guard and crying 'Long live the Regulars!' Colonel Jacqueminot of the Staff ordered the Chartres hussar regiment to ride among the crowd, but not to draw their swords, and this dispersed them. There were about twelve wounded and some were forced into the river. Such is the report delivered by Colonel Marmier of the National Guard while I was at the palace with the Queen. I took leave of Her Majesty and Madame Adelaide, who had made me sit down with them and treated me with special condescension. The King, who was unwell, did not appear. I met there Marshal Gérard¹ and the Abbé de Pradt, with whom I had a long conversation, during which he told me that the principle of non-intervention put forward by the French Government was the most absurd thing possible. I urged him to write. He replied that the newspaper editors, among others that of *Le Temps*, received his articles with anything but pleasure, because they only wanted such as flattered the public taste.

Having heard Lablache and David in the *Matrimonio Segreto* at the Opera, and seen Pérot, a male dancer, at the Porte St. Martin, Neumann left Paris with Lady Sandwich and her daughter on the 20th, sleeping at Granvilliers one day, at Montreuil another, and reaching London at 8.15 on the evening of the 23rd.

April 23rd. Went to the Opera the same evening. There I found everybody in a most excited state. Parliament had been dissolved, the King having prorogued it

¹ Count Etienne Gérard (1773-1852). He compelled Antwerp to surrender in the following year. For an interesting account of the Abbé de Pradt, see Raikes' *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 124-5.

only yesterday. The Ministers had taken this step after the defeat they had sustained on the Reform Bill. Since the time of Charles II. there has never been an instance of a royal prorogation announcing also a dissolution, which is contrary to Parliamentary rule. Both Houses gave themselves over to the most violent debates. Lord Wharncliffe in the Lords had brought forward a motion for demanding from the King in the form of an address that Parliament should not be dissolved, and it was to prevent this motion that the Ministers persuaded the King to dissolve without delay.¹ He ordered his carriages, and when they told him they could not be ready for some hours he said that if necessary he would go in a hackney cab. The guards were summoned in great haste and they arrived one by one at the palace. The first boom of the cannons announcing the arrival of the King created the utmost disorder in the lower House. The Ministerial party burst out laughing at the futile efforts of the Opposition. Sir Henry Hardinge, who was speaking at the moment, is reported to have said, 'The second discharge will be loaded with shot.' The disorder in the Lords was tremendous. Lord Mansfield made a most violent attack upon the Chancellor (Brougham), and Lord Londonderry upon the Duke of Richmond. They shook their fists at each other. Never did such a scene of violence occur even in Cromwell's time. Before entering the House of Lords and mounting the throne the King robed himself in an adjoining room. Someone, I believe the Chancellor,² wishing to help him put on his crown, His Majesty exclaimed, 'I am the person to put it on myself; this shall be my coronation.' The King's conduct has delighted some, and is blamed by others. The promptitude and secrecy with which the matter has been carried out has astonished and surprised everyone.

April 26th. Went to the Opera, where Rubini³ made

¹ See Greville on the whole of this incident, particularly as regards the part taken in it by the King. *Journals*, vol 2, pp. 136-7.

² It was really Lord Hastings.

³ Giovanni Battista Rubini (1795-1854). He continued to sing in England till 1843. He was subsequently made director of singing in St. Petersburg.

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his first appearance in *The Pirate*. He is a fine singer but did not quite come up to my expectations.

April 27th. Dined at Talleyrand's with the Falcks and Bulows. Went on to Lady Jersey's, where the mob broke the windows because they were not illuminated. The greater part of the houses were lighted up to celebrate the dissolution of Parliament.

May 1st. Saw Lady Clanricarde, who is not at all in favour of Reform, although her husband is a Minister; she blames the Government's scheme and Lord Grey's weakness.

At this time Neumann was very much attracted by Lady Caroline Montagu, the daughter of the Earl and Countess of Sandwich, and there are a variety of entries in the Diary referring to the matter. As we have seen, this was not the first time that his rather susceptible heart had been touched, and as the young lady during this very year became the bride of another, Count Walewski, there is no need to record the somewhat Pepysian confidences to his journal made by the Diarist concerning the matter. Suffice it to say that for a time he was in her company whenever he had the chance, at her people's house, at the dinners and balls of others, at the Opera and the theatres, and, of course, at Almack's, of which he was, on Gronow's showing, a shining Terpsichorean light.

May 3rd. News has been received of the death of the King of Sardinia. I went to the opera, where Bellini's *Pirate* was performed: charming music made still more delicious by Rubini's singing. Taglioni danced in a new ballet. To see her one would think that dancing was the easiest thing in the world, so greatly does she outshine all her competitors.

May 19th. Went to Epsom with Prince Esterhazy. A horse belonging to Lord Lowther named Spaniel won the Derby against the favourite Riddlesworth, belonging to Lord Jersey.

May 20th. Was at the Opera, where I met Talleyrand. The other day at the King's levée, where they have a bad habit of keeping one waiting a long time, Talleyrand told me several anecdotes on the subject, one about the days of Louis XV., who was punctuality itself. Marshal de Coigny on the other hand had a perfect passion for coming very late to everything, and once arriving thus to dinner at Madame Dubarry's, the King said to him: 'M. le

Maréchal, as you are a great *gourmet*, I am going to give you something which you rarely eat,' and ordered a plate of soup to be set before him. Louis XVIII. used to say that punctuality was the politeness of kings. Louis XIV. was also very particular in this respect, and expected others to be the same. One day as he went down to go for a drive, his carriage arrived at the moment he reached the door, on which he remarked : ' I thought I should have had to wait.'

May 27th. Dined at Lady Sandwich's with Lord and Lady Darlington, Lord William and Lady C. Powlett and Lord Munster.¹ The King has bestowed the Garter on Earl Grey. It is said that this is the price for the favour accorded to the illegitimate children of His Majesty, the eldest of the FitzClarences having been created Earl of Munster. All the other brothers and sisters have been raised to the rank of the children of a marquess.

June 2nd. Went to Ascot Races with Prince Esterhazy, where there was a great crowd. Paid my respects to the King and Queen. Dined and slept at Stoke Farm with Lord Sefton, where there were also Lord Worcester, the Fitzroy Somersets, Montrond, and Lord Alvanley.

June 4th. News from Brussels. Lord Ponsonby, who was to have quitted the city if the Belgians did not accept the act of separation from Holland by June 1st decided on by the Conference of London, has taken on himself to grant them a respite of ten days.

June 5th. The Russians are in full retreat from Poland. The plan of campaign hitherto followed by Marshal Diebitsch is incomprehensible.

June 6th. Learnt that the Russians have gained a great victory over the Poles at Ostrolenka, and that the latter have been obliged to fall back on Praga. Prince Leopold has been elected King of the Belgians.

June 8th. The news has been received of the abdication² of Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil.

¹ Eldest illegitimate son of William IV.

² This took place on April 7th. Dom Pedro abdicated in favour of his son, then only six years old, whose majority was not proclaimed till 1840, he being crowned in the following year.

June 11th. The English man-of-war *Fickle* arrived at Falmouth having the Emperor Dom Pedro and the Empress on board. After having taken in provisions it departed for Cherbourg, where these sovereigns are to land on their way to Munich.¹

June 12th. Passed the evening with Lady C. Powlett and Lady Jersey. Talleyrand, who was there, told us that the Duchesse de Luynes and the Duchesse de Duras, who had both been ladies-in-waiting to Queen Marie Antoinette, had told him that the memoirs of Madame Campan were absolutely true in every respect. He added that those of Madame Dubarry were also to some extent accurate ; that she had made notes which had been found, and that she had more wit than Madame de Pompadour but was totally uneducated. M. de Talleyrand loves to relate anecdotes concerning Louis XVIII. He told us that the King had said to him one day that since the death of the Duc de Coigny, out of thirty millions of men in France he (the King) was the only one who knew the right way of putting on and taking off a hat ; and, added M. de Talleyrand, it was perfectly true.

June 19th. Again passed the evening with Lady C. Powlett and Lady Jersey where I also found M. de Talleyrand, who told us that when Madame de Brionne, the mother of the Prince de Vaudemont (Lorraine), went to the opera a week after her marriage, her beauty created such a sensation that on the curtain being raised the audience cried out 'lower the curtain,' in order that they might be able to look at her a little longer. She died at Pressburg in 1815. She had such a horror of the revolution that she once said : 'I would not mind becoming a peasant, but I would never be a bourgeoisie.' The Duchess of Hamilton and Lady Coventry, who had been the Misses Gunning, famous for their beauty, created the same kind of sensation ; once when they were at Ranelagh the band stopped playing in order that the musicians might look at them as they passed the orchestra. They were among the ladies nominated to form the Court of the Queen, George

¹ The day before Neumann had been to hear Paganini, of whom he says : 'he is not so much a miracle as an artistic mystery.'

the Third's consort, and when they were presented to her she exclaimed : ' Mon Dieu, I am being surrounded by angels.'

June 22nd. Dined at the Duchess of Kent's with Prince Leopold, the Duke of Brunswick, Prince Leiningen, son of the Duchess of Kent, the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, Count and Countess Woronzow,¹ and Lady Barrington, next to whom I sat. The Princess Sophia² came in after dinner.

June 26th. Dined at Mr. Arbuthnot's with Lady C. Powlett, Lady Sandwich, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough. The Duke appeared to me to be very anxious about the state of things in general, although he regards Reform as less popular than it was. Dom Pedro has arrived, travelling as the Duke of Braganza ; he comes to pay a visit to the King. Prince Leopold has accepted the offer of the Belgian crown.

June 27th. Went to pay my respects to Dom Pedro with Prince Esterhazy and Baron Wessenberg. The Emperor appeared little affected by his misfortunes. He is not a particularly interesting personage. Baron Wessenberg has left for the Hague in order to persuade the King of Holland to agree to the latest arrangements come to with Belgium.

June 29th. Dom Pedro was received by the King to-day. I saw him at Almack's, where he said that before amusing himself he had to think of the interests of the Queen his daughter.³ He obviously meditates something against Portugal.

July 1st. Dined at the palace, the dinner being given by the King for Dom Pedro. The Queen, being unwell, was not present. Among the guests were the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, Prince Leopold, the Duke of Brunswick, the Prince of Leiningen, the Duchess of Gloucester, the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, the Duchess of Cambridge, Prince Esterhazy, all the Cabinet Ministers, and the principal

¹ The Count died in the following year, being then eighty-eight. He was at one time Russian Ambassador in London. His daughter married the Earl of Pembroke.

² Daughter of George III.

³ Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, whose rights had been usurped by Dom Miguel, but who with her father's aid regained the crown in 1834.

members of the royal household. The appearance of the dinner was magnificent in consequence of the splendour of the plate and so forth, but the dinner itself was detestable. I was seated between the Marquis de Rezende and Lord Palmerston. By the way the latter referred to Dom Miguel there is no doubt that his expulsion is desired here, and Dom Pedro's journey has for its object the interesting of England on behalf of his daughter Donna Maria da Gloria. The Duchesse de Berry has suddenly left for the Continent.

Neumann was already acquainted with Dom Pedro in consequence of his mission to Brazil, and the ex-Emperor went to pay him a personal visit at the Austrian Embassy. The entries which follow are for a time short ones, recording without comment (but here and there, as usual at this time, referring to meetings with Lady Caroline, whom he appears to have thought more attracted by him than she really could have been) the social events of the day as they affected himself. Thus he tells us of the various houses where he dined ; of visits to Almack's and to the Zoological Gardens, then a comparative novelty, having been first opened in 1828 ; to the Opera, and to see Buckingham Palace, which, by the way, he thought was not worth what it had cost.¹

July 16th. Prince Leopold left for Belgium. His establishment at Claremont² will still be kept up. He has bestowed various pensions which will be defrayed from the £50,000 a year he receives from this country. The surplus will revert to the State. He reserves the right of drawing the pension in case he should have to abdicate.

Attended a lunch given by the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland at Kew, at which the King and Queen and all the royal family were present. Dom Pedro was there and told me that all he thought about was the re-establishment of his daughter on the throne of Portugal ; that he asked nothing for himself, but that he was ready to lay down his life for her.

¹ The Duke of Wellington once stated in the House of Lords that few gentlemen were so badly lodged as the King. William IV., too, always disliked the place.

² Once the home of Lord Clive, who built it in 1768. Prince Leopold and Princess Charlotte lived there till the death of the latter in 1818. Later, Louis Philippe inhabited it from 1848 to 1850, when he died there.

Went to the Opera, where Pasta in Donizetti's *Anne Boleyn* was superb. Ended the evening at Lord Brougham's,¹ who told me that there had been two cases of cholera at Glasgow, and that the Cabinet were awaiting the report on the information they had asked for concerning the outbreak.

One has only to read Greville's *Journals* for this period to realise how terrorising this plague had become and what havoc it had made in Europe as well as the alarm felt in this country, where isolated cases spread the fear that an epidemic such as had raged in Russia was imminent. It was not till the late spring of the following year that the cholera wholly disappeared.

July 20th. Was present at a lunch at Richmond given by the Duke of Buccleuch for the Queen and the Princesses. I went with Lady Clanricarde, Lady Georgiana Grey and William Bankes. The cold was intense, which spoilt a *fête* which would otherwise have been very beautiful. The position of the house on the banks of the Thames is delightful. Lord Clanricarde drove us down and had a quarrel with Lady Jersey's postillions. It is said that the entertainment cost the Duke £2,000.

July 22nd. Paid a long visit to Lady Clanricarde, one of my most intimate friends. She possesses all the nobility of character and elevation of mind which her father (Canning) lacked without being endowed with his genius. She spoke much of the intimacy which existed between him and the Duke of Wellington. Their dual fame, however, never succeeded in really amalgamating. Canning's vanity and ambition were too restless and irritable; the Duke was too haughty. When the latter wanted to persuade George IV. to take Canning in the place of Lord Londonderry, who had committed suicide, he said to His Majesty that if he did not accept him as Minister he (Canning) would make himself king.

July 23rd. They say the cholera is at Glasgow. If so I shall make my will. I don't know why I seem indifferent to death; when the moment comes perhaps I shall feel otherwise.

¹ This was at 28 Berkeley Square, which Lord Brougham occupied till he was Lord Chancellor. He went to Grafton Street in 1839.

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July 24th. An evening party at Lady Clanricarde's, where the Brahmin Ramohun Roy¹ was present—at least that is what he calls himself. He speaks English quite well, and as it only requires one to be an adventurer or a revolutionary refugee to excite curiosity here, he will be the fashion for a week. Went on to Lady Jersey's, where Madame de Dino arrived from Lady Grey's. The former told me that the Government had received word from Montrose in Scotland that the cholera had broken out in a linen factory there, having been brought over in a cargo of flax from the Baltic. Twenty-one persons had been attacked by the malady.

July 25th. The speeches of the new King of the Belgians and the King of the French have been received. The latter is rather imperious in tone. The Russians have passed the Vistula, and Gilgud's army corps has taken refuge in Prussia near Memel.

July 28th. Confirmation has arrived that Chlapowski's and Gilgud's corps have taken shelter in Prussia. The latter general has been killed by one of his own troops. The Polish general Rohland has followed the same example.²

July 30th. A lunch was given to-day by Lord Londonderry at Rosebank (a charming villa on the banks of the Thames) to the King and Queen and the rest of the royal family. A charming *fête*. They sat down to table at 6 o'clock. There were fireworks on the river and illuminations, and the weather was fine, which made the thing a success. The Duke of Devonshire complained at not being invited to sit at the King's table, as did Madame de Dino and Bülow; others were annoyed because Lady Jersey had been. How small are some people's minds! M. de Talleyrand told me that Casimir Périer had taken umbrage at the Duc d'Orléans because of the part he had played with M. de Semonville at the opening of the Chamber of Peers, when that old turncoat in all the Governments

¹ Rammohun Roy, b. 1774, d. 1833. He was the first great modern theistical reformer of India. He set himself against idolatry and brought about the abolition of *suttee*. He remained in this country till his death. Thackeray may have had him in mind when he drew Rummum Loll in the *Newcomes*; but he was not an impostor like his counterpart in fiction.

² I suppose this means that he had also crossed the Prussian frontier.

which have succeeded each other in France for the last forty years produced the Austrian flags taken at Ulm, which we demanded should be returned when we entered Paris in 1814-1815 and which he swore had been burnt in the Invalides before that event. The speech of the King of the French has created great annoyance here. He takes up the attitude that everything that has happened is his doing, speaking of Belgium, Italy and Portugal in an arrogant manner.

August opened with the inauguration of the new London Bridge, which had been designed by John Rennie, who however died before its completion, and his son Sir John Rennie. The first pile had been driven on March 15th, 1824, and the first stone laid by Lord Mayor Garratt in the presence of the Duke of York on June 15th, 1825. It cost nearly £2,000,000, not, as Neumann says, £700,000. The Diarist remarks that the day was fine, that there was a great concourse of people, and that the King embarked on his state barge at Somerset House. Some well-known pictures and prints perpetuate the ceremony. Neumann saw it with Madame Batthyany from the Temple Gardens, which in those pre-Embarkment days sloped to the edge of the river. The remainder of his entry for August 1st deals with other matters, thus.

The cholera is making dreadful ravages in Galicia and has even reached Pesth in Hungary. The anniversary of the three days of July 1830 have passed by in Paris without disturbance. Dom Pedro was there and took part in it. Everybody is saying that on this occasion the *fête* lacked nothing, since a dethroned Emperor was present who was a very model of resignation.

Aug. 3rd. Dined with Prince Talleyrand, with the Mansfields and Stuarts. The Prince recounted that Bonaparte was on the terrace of the Tuileries when the attack of August 10th was made, and was furious at the weakness of the resistance against the mob. He was then just twenty. In the palace itself they were deliberating as to who ought to command the guards, and it was agreed that it should be the Duc de Mailly, as being senior officer. Lady Mansfield, who is deaf, asked: ‘The 10th of August of what year?’ ‘The famous 10th of August, Madame,’ replied M. de Talleyrand. ‘There is only one 10th of August in history.’

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Aug. 4th. News has been received that Holland has broken the armistice and that hostilities are about to recommence against Belgium. The King of Holland has done this while he was sending M. de Zuylen over here to negotiate.

Aug. 6th. It is reported that, at the desire of the King of the Belgians, France has sent him assistance against Holland in the form of 50,000 men. He has asked for naval help from England, which is being accorded him conditionally. France states that it is with the motive of preventing war that she has rendered aid, and that immediately Holland ceases hostilities her troops will be withdrawn.

Aug. 7th. The Conference has resolved to send remonstrances to the King of Holland; and states that the English fleet and the French auxiliaries will only act under the directions of the Conference.

Aug. 11th. Received news that the Dutch troops would retire to their own country as soon as a French army appeared on Belgian territory.

Aug. 12th. Dined at Greenwich with the Duchesse de Dino, Madame Batthyany, and others. Returned with the Duchesse, who told me that the only means of ending the Belgian affair was to divide that country between France, Prussia and Holland; that that had long been M. Talleyrand's idea; and that if the French troops retired without firing a shot the political existence of Casimir Périer would be ended; on the other hand if they remain that of the English Cabinet would be compromised.

Aug. 15th. The Prince of Orange marched to within two leagues of Brussels with his army, and would have entered the city had not the French troops put in an appearance.

Aug. 16th. Dined with Prince Talleyrand and passed the evening with Mrs. Cadogan. Saw my friend Lady Clanricarde, who has been at death's door with English cholera, which is very similar to the Indian variety. They gave her 180 drops of oil of Cajeput in a single dose, and this saved her. This oil seems the most specific remedy against the malady.

Aug. 17th. Went on Mr. Talbot's yacht beyond Woolwich with Lady Elizabeth Feilding, Lady Charlotte Butler, Lady Sandwich and Lady Caroline (Montagu). We dined on board and returned at 9 o'clock to drink tea at Lady Elizabeth's. This yacht, which is called the *Galatea*, is a beautiful one and is built for long sea voyages. It cost £5,000. There is a club called the Yacht Club, composed of some three hundred members, all of whom own their own yachts. They assemble every year at Cowes, where a regatta is held and prizes given to the winning boats.¹

Aug. 18th. The Ministers have been in a minority of 84 on one of the provisions of the (Reform) Bill. They are having to struggle against tremendous obstacles, and their strength is beginning to diminish.

On August 20th Neumann drove down to Hatfield, where he found a house party, and learnt that 'the old Dowager Lady Salisbury' (Old Sarum, she was called) 'aged nearly eighty, had ridden half the way from London.' He returned on the 22nd with Lady Caroline Powlett, 'who,' he says, 'talked to me a good deal about Lady C M. (Caroline Montagu) and W. (Walewski)' probably opening his eyes to the fact that in spite of her flirtations with himself it was the Polish nobleman she preferred, and to whom, indeed, she was married during the course of the year²

The record of a number of social engagements in London follows, such as dinners; a luncheon given to the King and Queen by the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick House, 'where everything was dull, not to say boring'; a dinner with Lord and Lady Grey at Sheen, when his host told him that Talleyrand once being asked if M. de Walewski was really the son of Bonaparte, replied: 'There are two reasons to think so—one because his mother has asserted it, and the other because Bonaparte believed it'; and, rather surprisingly, 'a religious conversation with Lady Caroline Murray.'

Sometimes the Diarist's entries are provocative without being as illuminating as one would like, the following being an example of how he occasionally skims over interesting subjects without developing them. 'Saw Lady Cowley, who gave me a variety of details about Vienna and the Duc de Reichstadt, of whom she had much to say.' 'Met the Duke of Wellington, who spoke to me at length

¹ The club here mentioned by Neumann is, of course, the Royal Yacht Squadron, which had been established in 1815 with headquarters at Cowes.

² On August 25th he writes. 'Conversation with Lady C M., who assured me that there was nothing between her and W. But can one believe what women say?'

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about his speech on Belgian affairs.' 'Conversation with Lady Clanricarde on the difference between love and friendship.' But the coming Coronation was just now the chief topic of conversation, and Neumann gives his impressions of it at some length.

Sept. 8th. The King and Queen were crowned in Westminster Abbey to-day. The religious ceremony in no way differed from that at the coronation of George IV., with the exception that the presence of the Queen and her ladies-in-waiting added greatly to the beauty of the ceremony. Six daughters of Earls carried her train : Lady Theresa Fox-Strangways, Lady Theodosia Brabazon, Lady Mary Pelham, Lady Sophia Cust, Lady Georgiana Bathurst, and Lady Georgiana Grey. Two ladies-in-waiting followed, the Countess Brownlow and the Marchioness of Westmeath. Six maids-in-waiting, Miss Eden, Miss de Roos, Miss Seymour, Miss Bagot, Miss C. Boyle and Miss Mitchell ; and two women of the bedchamber, Lady Caroline Wood and Lady William Russell. The Duchess of Gordon acted for the Dowager Duchess of Leeds as Mistress of the Robes. When the Duke of Wellington approached to render homage to the King there was an outbreak of applause. This recognition of the glory and virtues of this extraordinary man reflected as much honour on those who accorded as on him who received it. It was evidently sought, to some extent, to make this a party demonstration, and when Lord Grey advanced one could see several people giving the signal to applaud in the same way, but the shouts which followed had none of the spontaneity of the earlier demonstration. It was indeed but a parody of it, and appeared still more so when Brougham entered. The presence of the Queen resulted in many peeresses being present in their beautiful Court dresses ; red velvet mantles tipped with ermine, and their coronets in their hands until the moment when the crown was placed on the Queen's head, when they all put on their coronets. In the evening the whole city was illuminated and the crowd of carriages and people on foot was so great that it was impossible to get to the evening party given by Lady Grey.

M. de Talleyrand told us that the Emperor Napoleon

was very fond of talking of theology and that he read many books on the subject. One day at Fontainebleau he (Talleyrand) went with Charles X. into the library, where there was a great number of these books. ‘There were assembled on the shelves,’ said M. de Talleyrand, ‘everything that one knew and that the other believed.’

Neither the Duchess of Kent nor her daughter Princess Victoria was present at the Coronation. It is said that, expecting a specially important place for her daughter as presumptive heiress to the throne, the Duchess had excused herself from being present on the grounds of ill-health. The papers remarked her absence in very strong terms. The King on this occasion created sixteen peers.

Sept. 13th. Dined with the King. There were fifty people present, including the Princess Augusta, the Duchess of Weimar, the Queen’s sister, the Duke of Sussex, the Bülows, Woronzow, etc. The King asked me to drink with him. No one could be more polished in his manner. His chief characteristic is *bonhomie*; that of the late King was grace and elegance. He was the first gentleman of his country more by his manners than by his position.

Sept. 14th. Went with Lady Grey and her daughter to see the King’s stables. The most remarkable horses are the black, white and cream Hanoverians, which are even stronger than the English ones. The State coach which the King uses when going to Parliament was constructed in the time of George III. and cost £9,000.¹ Lord Albermarle, who is Master of the Horse, showed us round the stables.

Sept. 17th. News has been received of the entry of the Russians into Warsaw on the 6th of this month. After two days’ fighting the (Polish) army and the Government, as well as the Diet, have withdrawn to the right bank of the Vistula.

I went to stay at Stoke with Lord Sefton, making the journey partly in my tilbury and partly on horseback. Met there all the Grevilles and Lord Brougham, who showed us the Great Seal, which he has to carry with him wherever he goes.

¹ It was designed by Wilton, and the panels were painted by Ciprani.

Sept. 18th. Remained at Stoke and walked over to Clifden. Prince Talleyrand, Madame de Dino, and General Alava joined us to-day. The first told us that during a discussion between Renbell and Carnot the latter exclaimed: 'I raise my hand to affirm what I have said ;' whereupon Barras, who was standing by, remarked : 'Put down your hand, it is stained with blood.'

During the remainder of this month Neumann was occupied in various social ways, the records of which occupy the pages of his Diary ; thus on the 20th he was present at the marriage of Augustus Vilhers,¹ second son of Lord and Lady Jersey, with Miss Elphinstone, a daughter of Lord Keith ; two days later he went to Woolwich to see the launch of a man-of-war, at which ceremony the King and Queen were present ; and having seen *Tom Jones* at the Haymarket on the 24th he went down to Sudbourn on the following day, reading *en route* Peel's speech on Reform as well as *Marion de Lorme* by Hugo and Dumas's *Anthony*, 'two curious productions because of the licence of the imagination characteristic of the spirit of the times in which we live,' is his comment. He remained four days at Sudbourn, and while there heard of the ravages made by the cholera in Vienna, where General Stipzics, Countess Mitrowsky and one of the Esterhazy family had fallen victims, together with 'four lawyers and two doctors.'

On October 3rd Neumann paid a visit to the Surrey Zoological Gardens, which he merely describes, however, as being 'on the other side of Vauxhall Bridge.' This now forgotten pleasure haunt was started by Mr. Cross in August 1831 for the reception of his menagerie, hitherto kept at Exeter 'Change in the Strand. It had a music hall and other attractions attached to it, and after a varied career came to an end in 1877, its site being subsequently built over.

Oct. 4th. Dined at Brooke-Greville's with Mrs. Fitzherbert, who was married to George IV. when Prince of Wales and whom the present King allows to use the royal liveries.

Oct. 6th. Had a walk with the Duke of Wellington, who told me that everyone misunderstood what he had said on the subject of reform ; that when last year he had been asked if he thought of proposing anything on this subject he had answered No, because he did not consider the House of Lords a suitable place in which to originate such a

¹ He died in Rome in 1837, when his widow married Lord W. Godolphin Osborne, and lived till 1892.

measure, but that if the other House brought forward anything of the kind, without saying that he would accept it, he would be ready to give it his careful consideration ; that the King had, no more than his Ministers, the right to upset the institutions of this country as they are being at the present moment ; that a Government's duty was to preserve and not destroy such institutions. He went so far as to say that it would be a good thing if the King died, because he would give way on every point.

Visited Lady Jersey, where I met Lord Brougham, Lord John Russell, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Falmouth, and Lord Carnarvon, who all, especially the last, talked very well against reform.

Oct. 7th. The Reform Bill was rejected by a majority of 41. The sitting lasted till 8 o'clock in the morning. Lords Brougham and Lyndhurst made very fine speeches. The first spoke little concerning the details of the bill, which would have to be gone into later ; while Lord Lyndhurst occupied himself in dissecting them one by one.

Oct. 10th. There have been several meetings to-day with regard to petitioning the King in favour of the bill. Lord Ebrington brought forward a motion the object of which was to pass a vote of confidence in favour of the bill and the Ministry ; it was passed by a majority of 131 in a house of 527.

The violence of the agitation throughout the country following the throwing out of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords can hardly be overstated. In certain provincial centres, such as Bristol and Nottingham, the forces of the crown were powerless to cope with the disturbances that broke out. The diary of a foreigner like Neumann, well informed as he was on the political state of the country to which he was accredited, could hardly be expected to reflect these matters in any detail , even Creevey's letters are silent regarding them , but in the pages of Greville and in the political histories of the period their extended scope and seriousness are stated clearly enough.

Oct. 11th. Lord Howe, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, has been dismissed for having voted against reform.

Oct. 12th. The representatives of various city trades went in procession to the Palace to present to the King a

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petition in favour of reform. This resulted in a tumult, the windows of the Duke of Wellington and of the Marquess of Bristol were broken ; and Lord Londonderry on his way to the House was struck on the head by a stone, which wounded him so severely that he had to return to his house in a hackney cab. The King, who was to have dined with the Duke of Buccleuch and to have stood godfather to his son,¹ was not able to do so.

Oct. 17th. Dined at the Palace ; there were present among others Prince Esterhazy, Admiral Sir Henry Blackwood, the Marquess of Wellesley, Lady Mary Fox, and Lord Byron.² I sat next to the Queen. In handing to Prince Esterhazy a letter for our Empress the Queen remarked : 'I give it to you myself because I have no Lord Chamberlain.'

Oct. 20th. Was present at the prorogation of Parliament. The King wore his robes and the Crown. The Grand Duchess Helena³ sat on the woolsack facing the King, in her capacity of Princess of Wurtemberg and thus in the succession to the Crown of England, and not as a foreign Princess.⁴

On October 25th Neumann went with Lady Sandwich and Lady Caroline Montagu to the Olympic to see Madame Vestris in *The Grenadier*, and the next day he heard from the Countess the news which he had by now no doubt come to expect, of her daughter's engagement to Walewski. He makes no comment, but that he had outlived his infatuation seems proved by the fact that the same night he is found dining with Talleyrand and Madame de Dino at the Embassy, and going afterwards to Drury Lane to see a piece 'in which there are two lions, a panther, two boa-constrictors and two elephants.' This was the show of the tamer Martin, and the Diarist found it 'marvellously terrifying'.

On the 27th he is at the Adelphi to see a play called *Victorine*, which he describes as charming.

Oct. 30th. At the prorogation of Parliament the Bishop of Chichester was the only one present who had voted for

¹ The late Duke, who was born on September 9th, 1831.

² The 7th Baron, first cousin of the poet.

³ Daughter of Prince Paul of Wurtemberg, married to the Grand Duke Michael of Russia.

⁴ Princess Charlotte, daughter of George III, had married Frederick, King of Wurtemberg, the uncle of the lady here referred to

the Reform Bill. When Talleyrand arrived to take his seat on the diplomatic benches, the Bishop said to Lord Carlisle, who was sitting next to him, 'Now there are two of us.' The person who told Talleyrand of the death of Bonaparte remarked that it was a great event. 'No,' replied Talleyrand, 'it is merely a piece of news.'

Nov. 1st. Went down to Sudbourn by the Shannon coach and arrived there in six hours. I found the Duke of Wellington, Lord and Lady Manners, Croker, Sir Henry Cook, Theodore Hook, and Miss Raikes, &c. There has been a terrible riot at Bristol, occasioned by the presence of Sir Charles Wetherell, one of the judges who went down to try the prisoners.¹ Luckily he escaped, but in two days the mob destroyed forty-one houses which they burned and pillaged. The military were called out too late by the magistrates, who entirely lost their heads. When the troops did arrive they fired on the people, killing or wounding four hundred.

Nov. 4th. Rode out with the Duke, Mrs. Arbuthnot and others. The Duke has not shot for three days as the report of a gun gives him a headache. He appears very anxious and worried over the affairs of his country. I have received several letters from Vienna, among them one from Count Joseph Esterhazy complimenting me on my coming nomination to the Embassy at Brussels. At present I know nothing about this, and this news which a few years ago would have filled me with joy now gives me none. To live quietly somewhere in Italy would please me better.

Nov. 5th. The Duke of Wellington read me a letter which he had written to the King pointing out to him the danger of permitting the formation of armed political unions which would end by dictating the law to the Government, as had happened in France, Belgium and other countries. He reminds the King in this letter of the Act of Parliament which forbids armed associations other than those approved by him, such as the army, the militia and the yeomanry. The Duke regards the position of the

¹ See Greville, who says Wetherall's presence was only the pretext for the riots which, he adds, 'for brutal ferocity and wanton unprovoked violence may vie with some of the worst scenes of the French Revolution.'

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country in a very serious light. He believes that there is time to stop the revolution, but that if there is delay the power to do so will have disappeared.

Nov. 12th. Having returned to town on the 9th, I to-day dined with Sir George Warrender, where I found Lord Hertford, Lady Strachan and her two daughters, and Raikes and his daughter. Went with them afterwards to Covent Garden, where they performed *Fra Dravolo* with Auber's charming music, and a Shakespeare burlesque entitled *Catherine and Petruchio*.

It is characteristic of Neumann that on taking leave of Lady Strachan and her daughters he should add · 'The eldest, Matilda, is a pretty and charming creature.' Was he already thinking of someone to take the place of Lady Caroline Montagu ? To turn to more serious subjects, the Duke of Wellington's letter to the King had evidently borne fruit, if we may judge by an entry in the Diary for November 22nd where we read that 'a proclamation has appeared forbidding the formation of political unions.' 'It was time they struck,' adds Neumann, 'if they did not want to be struck themselves.' On the 23rd we find him dining with Lord Dudley, among the guests being Walewski. There were thirteen in all, 'a bad augury,' writes the Diarist with a delightful touch of malice, 'for those about to marry.'

At another dinner on the 25th, this time at Lord Tankerville's, where Charles Greville was among the guests, although, by the way, he makes no mention of it in his journal, Neumann heard from Lord Duncannon¹ that although Buckingham Palace was not yet completed it had already cost £740,000 ; that the bill of Morel the upholsterer amounted to £70,000, and that twenty chairs, two sofas and an ottoman had cost £8,500

The news contained in the following entry does not seem to have been decisive, or Neumann may have been able to avoid leaving England ; certainly he was here still at the end of the following year.

Nov. 26th. Went with the Raikeses to the Adelphi Theatre. On returning I found a telegram nominating me *Chargé d'Affaires* at Brussels ; probably the first step towards being ambassador there. Ten years ago I should have been delighted at the news, but now I only think of the regret I shall feel in leaving a country in which I have

¹ He became Commissioner of Woods and Forests in 1837, and succeeded as 5th Earl of Bessborough in 1847.

lived for seventeen years, where I have so many friends and have contracted habits which have, so to speak, naturalised me here.

Nov. 29th. Dined with Lady Sandwich. News was received the day before yesterday that an insurrection of workmen had broken out at Lyons. The troops and the National Guard were obliged to surrender, and on the 23rd the mutineers were masters of the city.

Dec. 2nd. Went to Hatfield in a gig. I found there the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, the Duke of Rutland, Lady Cowley, Lord and Lady Astley,¹ etc. There was a ball in the evening. To-day the trial took place of Bishop, Williams and May for the murder by garrotting of an Italian named Carlo Ferrari, who wandered about gaining a livelihood by exhibiting performing white mice. After having throttled him May pulled out his teeth, and the murderers tried to sell his body to an anatomical college for the purpose of dissection. The crime was suspected and the three men were arrested, tried and condemned to be hanged on Monday the 5th.

Lord Wharncliffe opened negotiations with Lord Grey on the subject of reform; the latter conceded various points which were, however, disapproved by Lord Althorp and Sir Henry Parnell, and the negotiations in consequence fell through.

On December 1st Neumann had been present at the wedding of Lady Caroline Montagu with M. de Walewski, and on the 9th Talleyrand, at Lady Jersey's dinner table, speaking of the happy pair, 'who appeared very composed,' remarked that it was a *mariage de convenance*, a remark we may suppose Neumann was not altogether sorry to hear. Two days later he hears from Lord Bathurst that 'the new negotiations between the Marquess of Chandos and Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe, with the Government, had come to nothing.' On the 12th he left London for Middleton Park, in a britschka, 'the weather being awful.' The new Reform Bill had been brought in that day. 'Its scope is the same as the previous one, but it appears a little better in the way it is to be applied' The party at Middleton included General Alava, with whom on the 19th Neumann returned to London, having a talk with him on the way concerning the Peninsular War and especially the Battle of

¹ Neumann probably means Apsley.

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Salamanca, for which Alava recommended the Diarist to read Colonel Napier's book.¹

Dec. 24th. At Talleyrand's with Alava, who told us that when dining with Wellington at the village of Waterloo on the day of the battle, the Duke did not appear to be more satisfied than usual and not elated by his victory. He drank a glass of wine with Alava to the memory of the Peninsular War, the only 'health' he gave. The Duke despatched an aide-de-camp to the King of France at Ghent, telling him that in a fortnight he would again be seated on the throne. The Duke having examined the position taken up by Blucher on the 16th (of June) before the battle of Ligny, remarked to Gneisenau² that it was a good one, but that he did not like the way in which the soldiers were placed. Gneisenau defended the disposition of the troops. The Duke said to Sir Henry Hardinge,³ who was the English officer accredited to Blucher: 'All I know is that you will be well thrashed to-day.'

Alava was dining with the King of France at Ghent on the 16th when the loss of the battle of Ligny was announced; all Louis XVIII. said on rising from the table was: 'I have eaten a remarkably good dinner to-day.' M. de Talleyrand told us that he had arrived a few days earlier from the Congress of Vienna full of what had been done there, and at Mons met the King whom he was not able to see before sitting down to dinner, and that at the table the Duc de Duras got up and said respectfully: 'I regret to tell Your Majesty that the butter is rancid.' 'That,' added Talleyrand, 'was the first word of business I heard!'

Dec. 29th. The Hollands, Carlisles, Seftons, and Talleyrand dined with us. The cholera is increasing in the north of England and has reached Haddington on the borders of Scotland.

The Princes de Rohan have commenced an action against the Duc d'Aumale with regard to the property of the Duc

¹ *The History of the War in the Peninsula*, published 1828-40.

² General Count August von Gneisenau (1760-1831). He conducted the retreat from Ligny in 1815.

³ Afterwards Lord Hardinge of Lahore (1785-1856).

de Bourbon,¹ whose mother was a Rohan. The pleadings affect to show that the will was obtained by *duresse* on the part of Madame Feuchères, who lived with the Duke. She is an English woman, a Miss Dawes, the daughter of an orange-seller in Oxford Street who had been a woman of the town. The Duc d'Orléans corresponded with her about this inheritance, and no little scandal is reflected on Louis Philippe in consequence. The Counsel even insinuates that the Duke, who was found hanged in his bedroom, was assassinated. He has left property to the value of about eleven million francs to this woman, and it is said that the fear that he would alter his will led her to commit the crime.

Dec. 30th. The English Cabinet, fearing that the ratification of the Treaty of November 15th with Belgium would not arrive at Berlin from Vienna, have sent couriers to expedite its despatch, as the limit accorded ends on January 15th. Russia is raising difficulties on the pretext that the consent of the King of Holland must be awaited.

1832

During the first two months of the New Year Neumann's entries are chiefly short ones, and after a few days' stay at Buckland Park, whither he went with Sir Richard Acton (the father of the late Lord Acton), and a painter just returned from Italy whom he calls Uivins but who I imagine was Ewins, he remained in London till the beginning of March, when he went to stay at Strathfieldsaye. During this time the chief political event was the ratification of the Treaty separating Belgium from Holland, the result of the Conference which had been opened in London so far back as November 1830, and at which the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, Prussia, France and England met, and through their efforts succeeded in averting the war with which Europe was threatened. The arrival of various emissaries bearing the ratification of their different countries is recorded, and as Prince Esterhazy was leaving for Vienna Neumann was instructed to represent Austria at the Conference in his absence, although as an attack of gout delayed the Prince's departure it would seem that everything had actually been settled before he left. In this connection Raikes' journal is interesting, as it begins at this moment and the writer has a good deal to

¹ See *The History of the House of Orleans* in 3 vols. by W. C. Taylor

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say on the matter, recording on January 15th, *inter alia*, that 'Baron Neumann, the Austrian Secretary, called this morning¹ and told me that the Prussian ratification had arrived last night,' a fact stated by Neumann himself in his Diary for January 14th.

For the rest, one or two matters of interest arise in this part of Neumann's record. Thus on February 6th he dines with Talleyrand and meets Mr. Bowring,² 'a famous demagogue, the same who was selected to carry to Paris the subscriptions for those wounded in July 1830 ;' again on the 10th he pays his first visit to Lord Palmerston, 'who received me very well,' he says, and with whom we find him dining on the 24th (going later to a dance at Devonshire House where, the fog being so thick 'even in the Ball-room one seemed to be dancing in the clouds') ;³ and on the following day having a long conference with him concerning the interminable affairs of Portugal and Spain. On March 3rd Neumann again went to stay with the Duke of Wellington

March 3rd. Left for Strathfieldsaye, the Duke of Wellington's seat. I found the Arbuthnots there. He spoke of the Battle of Vittoria, and said they tried to persuade him not to fight it because it had just been learnt that Bonaparte had concluded an armistice at Liegnitz⁴ with the combined Russian and Prussian armies ; that peace would follow, and that he would then have against him the whole force of the French armies and it would be better to concentrate his troops. Then I was told, he said, that I should do better to establish myself in the Pyrenees as being safer to defend against the re-united forces of France than in the valley of the Ebro which offered fewer advantageous spots for defence. I immediately decided to fight a battle on the following day, which was that of Vittoria. In speaking of the Portuguese army, he said it had no leader, and that it was better for a lion to lead deer than a deer to lead lions. The strategy of the Archduke Charles was discussed. He said of its kind it was as good as possible. The Duke is quite himself again. He had been out hunting in the morning and had ridden twenty-

¹ Raikes' *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 4.

² Dr. Bowring ; see Greville's reference to him, vol. 2, p. 219.

³ It was the Queen's birthday, and Raikes says the fog was so thick that the illuminations were not visible.

⁴ The Battle of Katzbach had just been fought, Aug. 26th, 1813, in which Blucher defeated the French under Macdonald. Katzbach was near Liegnitz.

five miles in order to get home, not including the ground he had covered during the run, which was some thirty to forty miles. I played at whist with him and the Arbuthnots.

March 4th. It rained all day and no one was able to go out.. Lord Fitzgerald came to dinner. There was much talk about reform, on which subject the Duke is immovable.

On Neumann's return to London on March 5th, he heard of the taking of Ancona by the French, and the next day received details 'of the violent manner' in which it had been effected. A few days later he sees Lord Palmerston on the subject, who whole-heartedly condemned it, as might be supposed. A sudden illness which seized him at a dinner at Lord Stanhope's and obliged him to leave the table kept Neumann in the house till the 20th, after which he was again able to resume his work and his dinner engagements, the first of the latter being on the 22nd at the Duchess of Bedford's, followed by a ball at Lord Dudley's, who, however, writes the Diarist, 'is in such a state of health as makes one fear for his reason.'¹

March 24th. Dined at the Seftons' with Madame de Dino and Prince Talleyrand. Went later with the Prince to the Duke of Sussex's² who, as President of the Royal Society, had invited all the learned men of London. On these occasions, which are planned on the meetings held by Sir Joseph Banks, all the newest discoveries and the most curious scientific objects are exhibited.

March 27th. Had a long conference with Lord Palmerston regarding the affairs of Ancona and Spain. England is resolved to afford protection to Dom Pedro's expedition against Portugal.³

On the 28th Neumann dines with the Orby Hunters, and notes 'a singular conversation' with Miss Orby Hunter. Certain subsequent entries reveal here another case of Lady Caroline Montagu, but of a more passing character. These Pepysian confidences are not important, but are characteristic as showing the Diarist in the light of what used to be called 'a lady's man.' On the following day he meets Prince Orloff⁴ at Prince Lieven's, and Lord Grey, who

¹ The 1st Earl of Dudley He died in December 1835. (See also p. 178)

² At Kensington Palace, where the Duke had formed a fine library, particularly rich in rare old Bibles.

³ On behalf of his daughter the rightful Queen *Vide supra*, p 251.

⁴ Prince Alexei Orloff (1787-1861). Russian general and diplomatist.

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told him how glad he was to hear that the Austrian ratification of the Holland-Belgian treaty had reached Paris. There follow various entries concerning this matter which, in view of its now foregone result, possesses little or no interest. For the rest Neumann's records for April consist of dinners (one with Mr. Abraham Baring, whose famous collection of Dutch and Spanish pictures is noticed), and balls; the second reading of the Reform Bill carried by a majority of 9, and such notices of social events as the death on the 21st of Lady Anne Wyndham in eight hours from cholera, although that plague was then on the decrease. In connection with this Neumann writes under date of April 26th: 'The cholera grows much less here, while still making fearful ravages in Paris, where it attacks those in the highest society. One would have said that the malady partook of the democratic character of the inhabitants, whereas here where they are still more aristocratic it has respected the higher classes.'

May 4th. There has been a conference at the Foreign Office for the exchange of the Russian and Belgian ratifications. M. de Talleyrand wanted something relative to the evacuation of Antwerp inserted in the protocol, but nobody supported him.

May 7th. Ministers were defeated in committee in the House of Lords by a majority of 35 as the result of an amendment proposed by Lord Lyndhurst on the investigation of the Reform Bill, proposing to proceed first to an examination of schedule B, which accords the franchise, before A, which takes it away.

May 8th. Lord Grey and Lord Brougham went to Windsor at 3 o'clock to demand that the King should either create certain peers (to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill)¹ or accept their resignations. His Majesty told them that he would make known his decision tomorrow.

May 9th. At 9 o'clock this morning Lord Grey received the King's reply announcing that he would accept the resignation of the Government. There was a Levée at which all the dismissed Ministers were present. Lord Palmerston told me that he was now 'nothing.' Dined with the Duchess of Kent where the dinner was one of

¹ History repeated itself in our own day, when Mr. Asquith (as he then was) did the same in connection with the Parliament Act. The use of the pistol is never out of fashion, apparently.

determined Tories, such as the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Eldon, Lord Falmouth, etc. No one knows whom the King will send for to form a new administration.

May 10th. Lord Lyndhurst has been charged with the negotiations for forming a new Ministry.

May 12th. The Duke has now been entrusted by the King with the formation of one, which he has agreed to do. There is great difficulty in composing it, as Sir Robert Peel refuses to be one of the new Ministers. The administration is not yet formed. The King said to Lord Foley, who has lost his place as Captain of the King's Bodyguard: ' You are still young, my lord, and may live to see many changes ; but I am old.'

Dined with Prince Talleyrand ; there were present the Seftons, Madame Cinti Damoreau, Nourrit and Levasseur of the Paris Opera House. They sang divinely after dinner. M. de Talleyrand told me how Bonaparte became acquainted with Madame Walewska at Warsaw in 1807. One evening when he seemed very bored Talleyrand said to him that there were a number of pretty women in Warsaw, on which Bonaparte remarked that Murat had spoken to him of Madame Walewska who, he said, was very charming. M. de Talleyrand proposed to give a ball where the Emperor might meet her, and told him that when she was introduced to him he in his capacity of Great Chamberlain would offer to Bonaparte his gloves in order to ask her to dance with him. This happened as arranged. Bonaparte was so delighted with her that the next day he asked Murat how he could see her again. The latter suggested that the Emperor should give a small evening party where there should only be a dozen ladies, of whom she was to be one. Murat carried an invitation to her in the name of Bonaparte. She made the fact that her husband was not with her the ground for refusal. Murat suggested that she should come with another woman, or that he would escort her. This she accepted. Murat conducted her to the palace where Bonaparte was staying, and where, as arranged, he was alone. Later he persuaded her to come twice to the house of his Quartermaster-General, de Finkenstein, where she remained on one occasion for three

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days, on another for two days, but so secretly that Bonaparte carried her meals to her himself. She saw him again at Vienna in 1809, whither she was sent to beg for the separation of the district of Zamosez (from Galicia), a territory belonging to the Zamoisky family who had taken part in the insurrection against Austria. She succeeded and it was given to Russia.

May 14th. In the House of Commons there was a violent onslaught against the Duke of Wellington. Even his friends could not excuse his willingness to take office with the expressed intention of over-riding the reform measures.

May 15th. After what happened yesterday in the House of Commons the Duke has informed the King that it would be impossible for him to form an Administration. Abandoned by Sir R. Peel, Croker, Herries, Charles Wynn and Goulburn, material failed him. The King wrote to Lord Grey, who announced the fact in the House of Lords, Lord Althorp doing so in the Commons, that he desired him to adjourn Parliament till Thursday the 17th.¹

Dined at the Palace with the *corps diplomatique*, Mr. Backhouse, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, being the only Minister present. Everyone was dull and sad in consequence of the events of the day. The King finds himself at the mercy of the Commons.

May 16th. The whole day has been passed in negotiations between the King and Lord Grey.² There have been several meetings without any decision being arrived at. The agitation throughout the country is intense. Saw the Duke of Wellington at the Mitchells's and he told me that one could not always succeed, but that Mr. Baring on Monday last had gone too far in his statements in the House of Commons.

May 17th. There was a Drawing Room to-day. The King asked me who would replace M. Casimir Périer. 'They want a strong man to lead those fools,' he said. The struggle between him and Lord Grey still goes on.

¹ See Raikes, Greville, and Creevey under these dates.

² Lord Grey's letter to the King 'was couched in haughty terms, demanding *carte blanche* to make peers, which the King still positively refuses to do.'—Raikes.

May 18th. Lord Grey has at length announced to Parliament that he has sufficient guarantees to enable him to pass the bill. They say, however, that the King has not given way on the question of creating peers. There was a Court Ball. The Whigs, in spite of their triumph, do not appear to be particularly satisfied.

In these references by a foreigner, although the essential headings, so to speak, are given, little of the feverish excitement attending the efforts to pass the Reform Bill can be detected. To realise this it is necessary to consult the entries in Raikes's diary, the fuller ones in Greville's *Journal*, and the more hysterical joy of Creevey on the famous May 18th when Lord Grey was able to announce his having received those 'sufficient guarantees,' enabling the bill to become a *fait accompli*.

After these grave political happenings Neumann's record for a time is concerned with more peaceful subjects, and his love of music is emphasised just now by the fact that he saw and heard a good deal of that famous singer Madame Schroder Devrient.¹ For instance, we find him on May 20th going with her and other friends to Richmond, again on the 27th he hears her sing after dinner at Prince Talleyrand's, together with 'M. Hartzinger and his wife; the first (Madame Devrient) a soprano of finest quality, the second a tenor with a wonderful compass in the bass.' On June 3rd she was singing at a concert which Neumann himself had arranged and at which a distinguished company was present, the other performers including M. and Madame Hartzinger, Mdlle. Schneider, Pellegrini, and Hauser, with Mdlle. Blahetka at the piano—'all artists of the first rank,' adds the *Diarist*.²

June 7th. Went to Epsom Races with the Countess Batthyany: St. Giles, a horse belonging to Mr. Riversdale, won. I heard the news of a great rising in Paris on the occasion of the burial of General Lamarque.³ The National Guard and the regular troops fired on the mob.⁴

June 18th. The Duke of Wellington returning from the City was threatened by the crowd; the Police protected

¹ She wrote her *Memoirs* (1868-75), in which she speaks of various forgotten London pleasure haunts, such as the Holborn Casino and the Piccadilly Saloon.

² The programme of this concert, which was given at Chandos House, is copied out by Neumann and inserted in his Diary. Excerpts from *Don Giovanni*, *Figaro*, *Fidelio* and *Zauberflöte* were given.

³ He died on June 2nd, 1832.

⁴ See Raikes under same date.

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him.¹ It is to be noted that this occurred on the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo !

June 19th. The King was struck by a stone thrown at him by a sailor at Ascot Races. His hat alone saved him from being hurt. The man complains that the King had not replied to some demand he had made, and that he wanted thus to avenge himself. He had been expelled from Greenwich Hospital on account of bad conduct. His name is Dennis Collins.

June 21st. Went to see a play which has had a great success, *The Hunchback*.² The performance of Miss Kemble in it is as good as possible.

June 26th. The King presented colours to the 1st Regiment of the Guards (Grenadier), of which the Duke of Wellington is Colonel. When the Duke rode past the King at their head he was extremely well received by the people, while a week ago they wanted to tear him to pieces ! The King and Queen had but a cold reception. In the evening they honoured the Duke by their presence at a *fête* at Apsley House, to which over a thousand guests were invited.

The Hollando-Belgian affair was still dragging its long length through the *chancelleries* of Europe, and Neumann records the attempts made to bring the King of Holland to reason, and the demands of King Leopold, through General Goblet, that he should have the territory which had been his by right of treaty. Other items of the Diarist's news during July are of a varied character, such as his seeing Mdlle. Mars in *Le Tartuffe* on the 14th, and Taglioni in *Les Sylphides* on the 28th, and the sad death from cholera of the beautiful Mrs. Smith, Lord Forester's sister, in the space of twelve hours after being attacked on the 22nd, together with the usual record of visits, dinners, etc. On August 2nd he tells us of a more important event.

¹ The Duke was returning from the Mint. In Fenchurch Street attempts were made to pull him off his horse, and in Holborn some stones were thrown at him. Four policemen escorted him to Chancery Lane, down which he turned and went to Sir Charles Wetherell's in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The gate was shut against the crowd, and the Duke then rode through the Fields and on to Apsley House. This is the substance of a note in Creevey, who records the circumstance not quite accurately.

² By Sheridan Knowles. The actress was, of course, Fanny Kemble, who this year went to America, where she later married Pierce Butler.

August 2nd. The news has been received of the death of the Duc de Reichstadt, who expired at the age of twenty-one and four months from an affection of the lungs. I was present at the marriage of his mother on April 2nd, 1810. It was the end of Napoleon's greatness in relation to his ambition, for his glory had already received reverses in Spain, and on that day he had received bad news from there. The marriage ceremony was one of the most magnificent which it is possible to imagine, but it lacked solemnity, not being celebrated in a church. A kind of vestibule to the Museum of the Palace leading to the Great Gallery had been converted into a chapel. At the moment when the wedding ring was presented to the Emperor it fell and we heard it rebound on the floor. The Pope was at this time a prisoner at Fontainebleau, and as he had refused to pronounce the divorce of Josephine valid many bishops would not be present at the ceremony. Eleven months later Baron de Tettenborn, who was aide-de-camp to Prince Schwarzenberg, our ambassador in Paris, passed through Stuttgart where I was *chargé d'affaires*, bringing the news of the birth of the King of Rome, an event which made the greatest sensation throughout Europe.

During September Neumann paid a series of short visits to various country houses, among others to the Seftons and to Sudbourn, as well as lesser excursions to Wimbledon where he took Miss Emily Johnstone in his tilbury for a drive to Coombe Wood, and to Mrs. Damer¹ at Hampton Court. One or two entries concern the fugitive Bourbons, as thus.

Sept. 3rd. Received news from Count Apponyi in Paris saying that the French Government desired that before the Emperor (of Austria) granted an asylum to Charles X. and his family (they were then leaving England to take up their residence at Gratz) the Duchesse de Berry should be required to leave La Vendée. This demand having been transmitted to Vienna, I refused to give up his passports to the Duc de Blacas,² who came to ask for them. He understood my position but at the same time told me that

¹ Not to be confounded with Horace Walpole's friend, who had died in 1828.

² Neumann had already been making arrangements with him for the departure of Charles X.

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he would advise Charles X. to leave, not recognising the power of the King, Louis Philippe, to prevent him.

Sept. 14th. Received certain instructions from the Duchesse d'Angoulême before her departure for Rotterdam, which is to take place to-morrow on a vessel carrying English mails to that city. She thanked me warmly for such services as I had been able to render her.

Sept. 30th. I have passed this week in Conferences, France and Belgium wishing to employ coercive measures against Holland, which the three other Powers are at the moment attempting to stop.

The death of Walter Scott on the 21st at his house Abbotsford, in Scotland, is announced.

Oct. 2nd. The messenger Profetti arrived bringing me an order to ask the English Cabinet and the Russian and Prussian representatives to recognise the action of our government with regard to the entry of Charles X. into our dominions.

Oct. 5th. Sent back Profetti with the necessary acquiescence. Saw the Duc and Duchesse de Guiche, who out of a sense of devotion wish to follow the King (Charles X.).

Oct. 6th. Saw Bülow who had received a despatch instructing him to inform the British Government that if France should enter Belgium in order to take Antwerp, Prussia would establish herself on the right bank of the Meuse, a fact which Baron Werther, the Prussian Minister in Paris, had received instructions to make known to the French Government.

Oct. 10th. Had a long conference with Lord Palmerston concerning the Belgian affair. I found it impossible to get him to promise that the coercive measures of a blockade would not be employed against Holland.

Oct. 15th. To-day I saw M. de Talleyrand who told me that the new French Ministry was one which would give guarantees for the maintenance of peace; that it ought to be supported, and if so it should be able to present itself to Parliament with the Belgian affair settled.

Oct. 21st. Had a talk with the Duke of Wellington over the affairs of the Spanish peninsula. He told me that

M. de Zea¹ ought before his departure to present a note to the British Cabinet enumerating the acts committed contrary to the neutrality of England during the conflict between Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel. He spoke to me about the intrigues of Madame de Lieven ; of her desire to get Lord Durham put in Lord Palmerston's place.

Dined with Lady Blessington to meet the Countess Guiccioli, celebrated for the passion she inspired in Lord Byron. She did not come up to my expectations. Blonde, verging a little towards red, grey eyes without expression, ugly hands and feet, long in the body and short in the leg, but a very white skin and a beautiful bust which she does not attempt to conceal ; a common affected manner, regarding herself as a heroine and the companion in Byron's glory, of which she is merely the sepulchre. That fact, however, has not prevented her from having half a dozen other passions with Englishmen, probably in order to show her patriotism. One can easily imagine a woman like Madame Guiccioli, but not that she could ever have touched the imagination of a poet.

Passing over certain entries towards the end of October concerning the progress of the very intricate negotiations between the Powers and Holland on the subject of the Belgian separation from that country, which seem to have been endless and can have little interest for anyone now, I find during the following month and the beginning of December several notable references to Talleyrand, whose *memorabilia* are not among the least valuable of Neumann's records.

Nov. 1st. Dined with Talleyrand who told me that as the result of an altercation between the First Consul and M. de Marcoff, the Russian Ambassador, in the diplomatic circle, the latter went away. The First Consul, in order to divert attention from this *geste*, said to the Master of the Ceremonies, 'Send a messenger after M. de Marcoff, he appears to be unwell.' He (Napoleon) bragged a good deal to the Persian Ambassador who was at Warsaw at the same time as the Turkish Ambassador, each of whom was jealous of the other and was always trying to take the *pas*. One day, as they were entering the Emperor's apartment,

¹ M. de Zea-Bermudez was Spanish Minister, but was dismissed by the Queen in January 1834. (See also vol 2, pp. 114, 115)

each trying to get in first, the Persian, who was very tall, raised his arm to let the other pass underneath. At Finkenstein the Emperor asked him if he was not surprised to see a ruler of France so far away with his army, to which the Persian replied that Baton Han had been even further.

Nov. 30th. Dined with Prince Talleyrand. He told me that in 1805, being at the Baths of Bourbon l'Archambault, Bonaparte, who was then at the camp at Boulogne, sent for him. He set off at once and arrived at Boulogne that evening. Bonaparte saw him immediately and said that having learnt that Austria was preparing for war, it was necessary to begin directly and that he would in consequence abandon his expedition against England. He sent for his Minister of Marine, Decrès, and Berthier, and said to the former : ‘The success of the expedition against England is certain, but a more important event causes me for the moment to give it up.’ He announced that the camp at Boulogne would be moved the next day, consulted maps, and gave orders to Berthier for marching the various army corps by different routes towards a place of rendezvous in Germany. All these movements were executed with the utmost precision, and the following day the whole of the French army was on the move. He (Napoleon) left with M. de Talleyrand for Paris and from there went to Strasbourg where, just as he was getting into his carriage to continue his journey, he was seized with an epileptic fit. He told Talleyrand to undo his scarf, he panted heavily and slid to the ground, then after a long moan he said : ‘I think it has passed.’ He raised himself, drank a little water, asked M. de Remusat, who was present, to tie his cravat again, and started the moment after, as if nothing had happened, for Carlsruhe, where he was to pass the night. From there he went to Stuttgart, where he wrote a memorable letter to M. de Talleyrand in which he said : ‘The Duke of Würtemburg has come to meet me at the gate of his castle and has received me very well. He is a clever man. I have just had news of Mack.¹ Had I told

¹ Baron Mack, the Austrian Commander, who capitulated to Napoleon at Ulm on October 17th, 1805. For an account of his character see Bernhardi's *Memoirs of Count Toll*. For Napoleon's victory at Ulm see Rose's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. 2, pp. 1-28, etc.

him what he ought to do he could not have done better. He will be caught at Ulm like a naughty child.' While he (Napoleon) was before this place a French soldier came to him (it had been raining for two days) and said : ' Corporal' (for so the soldiers always called him) ' you like tempered (*de trempe*) troops : well, for the last two days we have been soaked (*trempés*).'

During November Neumann had been down to Middleton Park (on the 21st), and from there went on to Buckland, where he found the famous old Lady Cork, then aged eighty-seven, and, according to the Diarist, famous for her irresistible *penchant* for appropriating other people's property. ' She was suspected of giving her evening parties in London,' adds Neumann, ' in order to make away with the shawls of her guests ; certainly some were always missing at her *sorées*, and ladies after a time used to wear only very old ones when going to her house.' On December 3rd Parliament was dissolved until January 29th, and news had been received of the commencement of hostilities between the Dutch under General Chassé (he was nicknamed General Bayonet from his fondness for attacking with that weapon) and the French. On the 12th Neumann is again dining with Talleyrand.

Dec. 12th. Dined at Talleyrand's with Lady Jersey. He told us that one day in 1815, being at a Council, a note from Carnot to Fouché was brought, which ended thus : ' Traitor, what do you expect me to become ? ' Fouché replied : ' Whatever you like, you old fool.' He showed the note to Louis XVIII. who presided at the Council, and who laughed heartily at it. Fouché had brought with him a list proscribing some three hundred of his friends, said Talleyrand. He was forced to eliminate most of them ; Carnot was among the number.

At another dinner at Talleyrand's on the 16th, Neumann met Lord Grey, of whom he saw a good deal at this time and who, in view of the elections which were going favourably for his party, was in great good humour. On the 18th the Diarist dined with him at Sheen, meeting his friend the Marquis de Palmella among other diplomatists, and he again went down there to confer with the Prime Minister and Lord Palmerston over the Portuguese affairs. The year closed, so far as his record is concerned, without any further news of special moment.

1833

For the first fortnight in the New Year the chief excitement in social and political circles, as reflected in Neumann's Diary, was the arrival in England of that extraordinary man Pozzo di Borgo. Readers of the journals and letters of the earlier years of the nineteenth century will be familiar with his name, which crops up with much frequency ; but the details of his career are not so generally well known. Born at Ajaccio in 1764 (Napoleon was born there five years later), he began his career as a Corsican patriot, but in 1803 entered the Russian diplomatic service, after having passed some time both in London and Vienna. He was noted for his antagonism to Napoleon, to whose family his own had always been opposed in Corsican politics. A sort of vendetta ensued in which Napoleon pursued Pozzo with virulent animosity, while he on his part worked against the Emperor's schemes with equal assiduity. After Tilsit Pozzo realised the danger of remaining in the Russian service, although the Emperor Alexander begged him to do so, and he returned to Vienna in 1808, during which time he was actively employed by Austria and as narrowly watched by Napoleon. Fearing for his safety in Austria as he had had cause to do in Russia, he went to England in 1810, and was there again attached to the Russian service as a kind of diplomatic negotiator. After Napoleon's disastrous Russian campaign Pozzo was once more summoned to St. Petersburg, and he there set himself steadily to scheme against his old enemy, it being largely due to his urgent solicitations and counsels that the war was carried on against Napoleon during 1813 and France invaded by the Allies. He was then sent to England to bring Louis XVIII. back to France. Remaining in Paris for some time, he again went to London. Speaking of him from personal knowledge Raikes says : ' His talents are of the first order, and his conversation highly interesting ; his memory is inexhaustible—a collection of annals of a period which must be considered the most eventful and extraordinary in the records of the world.' Pozzo di Borgo died in Paris in 1842. His arrival in this country is recorded by Neumann on January 2nd ; on the 4th he paid the Diarist a visit and had a long conversation with him, and on the 7th they met at Lord Palmerston's table, and again on the following evening at Prince Lieven's.

Jan. 8th. Dinner at Prince Lieven's for General Pozzo. There were present Lord and Lady Georgiana Grey, Lords Palmerston, Goderich, John Russell, Sir James Graham, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley, the Marchioness of Stafford, Prince Talleyrand and the Duchesse de Dino. The King has



GENERAL POZZO DI BORGO
From a painting by Sir George Hayter

created Lord Stafford Duke of Sutherland, the Marquess of Cleveland Duke of Cleveland, and Lord Denbigh Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

Jan. 9th. Dined *en petit comité* at Prince Talleyrand's. Speaking of Madame de Staél's works, which he does not care for, Talleyrand said : ‘The only work of hers that will live is her collection of letters to the Prince de Ligne.’¹ He told us that the latter once met Napoleon in the Picture Gallery at Dresden. The Emperor said to him : ‘ You have come to see the pictures ? ’ ‘ No, Sire,’ he replied, ‘ what I came to see is no longer here.’²

On January 10th Prince Talleyrand gave a dinner party for Pozzo at which Neumann was present, as he was three days later at one given by Bülow for the same purpose. At the latter he had what he calls a *conversation chaude*, or as we should say, a passage of arms, with Palmerston. ‘He told me that we were mere followers of Russia,’ to which I replied that we could say with more truth that England was being led by France. ‘We are on an equal footing,’ he said, ‘and we are so according to the principles of the Grand Alliance created at Chaumont and confirmed at the Congresses of Vienna, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Verona. If you have thought fit to separate yourself from it, it is not our fault.’ On the following day the long-awaited reply from the Hague arrived, concerning which Neumann remarks : ‘If the King of Holland is sincere, this permits of the matter being settled ; if he is not it allows of its being still further delayed.’ On the 18th the Diarist went to stay with Wellington at Strathfieldsaye.

Jan. 18th. Went to Strathfieldsaye where I found the Duke of Cumberland, Lord and Lady Salisbury, Lord and Lady Jersey, Lord and Lady Georgiana Bathurst, Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot, Lord Mahon, Sir R. Wilson, and Lord Rosslyn with whom I travelled down.

Jan. 19th. The anniversary of the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo.³ Colonel Gurwood⁴ recalled the event at dinner, in proposing the Duke's health, and reminding him that he had received from his hands on the bridge going into the town the sword of the French brigadier-general who was

¹ Charles Joseph de Ligne (1735-1814), an Austrian field-marshall.

² Referring to what had been carried off to Paris by Napoleon.

³ Stormed on January 19th, 1812

⁴ The well-known editor of Wellington's *Despatches*. He ended his life by suicide.

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in command and whom Colonel Gurwood had made prisoner.

Jan. 31st. The courier Steitel has arrived bringing the news that as a result of the loss of the Battle of Konieh¹ the Sultan has decided to send Hafat Halil Pasha to Alexandria to make an offer of peace to the Pasha (Khedive) of Egypt. I saw Lord Palmerston on the subject, and he told us that regarding Eastern affairs the Cabinet's views were identical with ours; that England was going to send someone to Alexandria to invite Mehemet Ali Pasha to place himself again under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

Feb. 1st. Sent back Steitel with the reply of the English Cabinet. M. de Talleyrand wished for mediation which would have been, naturally, to the advantage of Mehemet Ali, but Ranick Pasha, who had been sent over by the Sultan to seek assistance, refused this. I encouraged him to set up this opposition.

Feb. 2nd. Dined at Prince Talleyrand's in celebration of the seventy-ninth anniversary of his birthday.² Prince Czartoryski³ and the Marquis de Palmella were there—both victims of their excess of zeal.

Feb. 3rd. Met the Duke of Wellington who seems to be quite overcome by the turn of events here, and regards the revolution as having practically begun; the Speaker, with whom I dined, does not take so serious a view.

Feb. 5th. The King opened the new reformed Parliament. He announced the most energetic measures for the re-establishment of order in Ireland, which gave occasion for some very warm debates on the address. O'Connell characterised the King's Speech as 'brutal and sanguinary.'

¹ Ibrahim Pasha here defeated the Turks under Reschid Pasha on Dec. 20th, 1832. The Peace of Konieh was signed soon after this between the Turks and the victorious Egyptians.

² He is generally supposed to have been born on Feb 13th, 1754. Perhaps the dinner was given in anticipation.

³ Czartoryski lost all his property as a result of taking a leading part in the Polish Revolution of 1831. Both he and Palmella were living more or less as refugees in England at this time. (See p. 234n.)

Feb. 10th. Dined at Lord Sefton's with Prince Talleyrand, Pozzo, etc. As I was talking to the latter Talleyrand approached and remarked to us : ' You are no doubt discussing the state of the weather ! ' Just before this Pozzo had said to me : ' Yesterday I had a conversation with this angel,' pointing to Talleyrand.

Feb. 23rd. The courier Dorr has arrived with despatches approving my conduct as regards Eastern affairs, and the Emperor makes known to me his special satisfaction on the subject.

Feb. 24th. Went to see Lord Palmerston in order to communicate to him the despatches received yesterday. He was satisfied with them, but I cannot get him to send instructions to Switzerland with the object of adjourning the examination of the new Federal Pact. He says that the Powers had not the right to do this.

March 2nd. Received the courier Beck bringing news that General Muravieff's¹ mission had returned on February 7th from Alexandria to Constantinople, having been completely successful in its object. The Pasha (Khedive) of Egypt has sent an order to Ibrahim Pasha to cease hostilities, and has announced that he will consider himself as at peace with the Porte now that it has sent Hafat Halil Pasha to negotiate.

March 3rd. Communicated this news to Lord Palmerston, to Ranick Pasha, to Prince Lieven, and to Prince Talleyrand, who were all highly pleased.

March 6th. There was a farewell dinner for Pozzo at Talleyrand's at which Lady Holland was present, to whom Pozzo detailed the shortcomings of Lord Palmerston ! M. de Talleyrand said : ' Everyone has been delighted to see M. Pozzo again, and those who did not know him before have been delighted to make his acquaintance.'

March 16th. Received despatches from Vienna dated March 8th, and from Constantinople of the 21st and 24th of February, announcing the arrival of the Russian fleet in the Bosphorus ; it consists of four men-of-war, four frigates and a sloop of war. The French Ambassador, Vice-Admiral Roussin, has threatened to leave in twenty-

¹ 1793-1866. He served with distinction against the Poles in 1831

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four hours if the fleet is not recalled.¹ He has signed a convention with the Sultan by which the latter engages to satisfy Mehemet Ali with the government of Syria, St. Jean d'Acre and Palestine, including Jerusalem and Tripoli.

March 19th. M. Zuylen² left for Holland. On taking leave of him His Majesty (William IV.) asked him when he was going. 'One can sail with any wind, Sir,' he replied.

March 21st. There was a Drawing Room at which I had a long conversation with Lord Palmerston concerning the feeling which exists against Russia. The Russian Ambassador did not appear at the Drawing Room nor was he yesterday at the Levée. Palmerston acknowledged to me that the feeling was due to the bad policy of the English Government. I talked with Prince Talleyrand on the same subject this evening; he is full of animosity against Russia.

March 22nd. Sent off the courier Beck with the result of the conversations yesterday. I had a more satisfactory talk with Prince Talleyrand this evening. He promises to get Lord Palmerston to say something civil to Prince Lieven.

March 23rd. Dined at Palmerston's with the Prince and Princess Lieven, Prince Talleyrand, Madame de Dino, Lord and Lady Cowper, the Bülows and M. Dedel.³ M. de Talleyrand told me that he had persuaded Lord Palmerston to speak to Prince Lieven in order to lessen the existing tension. At dinner Talleyrand talked to us about the coronation of Louis XVI. at Rheims as having been the most imposing ceremony he had ever seen. Everything, he said, concurred to make it so: beautiful weather (it was in June), magnificence, reverence, and gaiety. The whole of the French nobility was present; everyone covered in jewels, from the King, Monsieur (Louis XVIII.), the Comte d'Artois (Charles X.), and the Duc d'Orléans

¹ See Raikes for March 18th, who says that 'Roussin has been on the alert; he has made a tool of our *chargé d'affaires*, Mandeville, for his own purposes with the Porte.' See, too, Greville, vol. 2, p. 367

² M. Zuylen de Neuveldt. He represented Holland in this country at the Conference over the question of the separation of Holland and Belgium.

³ On the recall of Zuylen in consequence of his disagreements with Palmerston, M. Dedel was sent over in his place.

(*Egalité*) downwards ; the Queen in virtue of her appearance and manner was the most beautiful woman in France. After the ceremony the King said to Cardinal de la Roche Aymon, then eighty years old, who had crowned him : ' You must be very tired.' ' No, Sire,' he replied, ' I am ready to begin again ; ' a *naveté* which greatly amused His Majesty. The St. Ampoule (the holy consecrating oil), which was kept by the monks of St. Rémi, was sent for the day before the Coronation. Four hostages were given for its safety, these being four great peers of France. Talleyrand's father was one of them. They remained at the convent until it had been safely brought back.

April 6th. Dined at the Clarendon Hotel¹ with the two sisters Elssler,² D'Orsay, Lord Tullamore,³ Allen,⁴ John Lister and Mr. Stanley, in the same room where in 1808 I dined with Prince Starhemberg, whom I had gone to fetch from Paris when I was there in Prince Metternich's embassy. We had then offered our mediation between France and England, and in the event of its not being accepted our Minister had to leave (Paris), which was what happened. At that dinner Prince Paul Esterhazy and Alfred Potocki were present, as well as Count Wallenstein and Baron de Bergersfeld, Secretary to the Legation.

One of those visitations of the influenza to which we have become so used in these days was then decimating society. It was then more or less of a novelty, and Neumann describes it as ' an atmospheric malady under the name of influenza which, without being deadly, is extremely troublesome.' A variety of diverse pieces of information follow in the Diary, such as the news that the Khedive had rejected the convention arrived at between the Sultan and Admiral Roussin ; a notice of a ' delicious concert ' at Lord Uxbridge's at which Rubini, Tamburini, Miss Mason and Mrs. Bishop sang ; the defeat of the Government on the Malt Tax, as a result of which Lord Grey offered to resign, as Greville records : (Raikes remarks that ' the Government are at their wits' ends ') ; the arrival of the Duke of Orleans, with the various entertainments given in

¹ At 169 New Bond Street. It was one of the most important hotels in London at this time.

² Fanny and Theresa. They were noted dancers.

³ He was eldest son of the Earl of Charleville.

⁴ Probably the Dr Allen of Holland House.

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his honour, at all of which Neumann was present ; a concert at the Duchess of Canizzaro's ' where Pasta and Malbran sang the beautiful duet from *Semiramide* ;' the news of the accouchement of the Duchesse de Berry, who gave birth to a girl and who ' they say is married to Comte Hector de Lucchesi Palli of the Campo Franco family ;' and a great ball at Northumberland House.¹ As an example of Neumann's social activity apart from his official duties, the following entry for May 27th shows that he was, indeed, not idle :

May 27th. Began my morning at 10.30. Visited Adeline, then the *chargé d'affaires* of Spain ; returned home, went out again at 3.30 to the Elsslers, then to Schröder's, and afterwards to Cinti's. Dined with the Hanoverian Minister to meet the Duke of Brunswick, Lord Grey and Lord Palmerston ; went to an evening party at Lady Grey's, another at Lady Jersey's, and a ball at Lady Farquhar's. There was also a concert at Mrs. Pelham's, but I could not get to it.

May 28th. There was a Drawing Room to celebrate the King's birthday, which really took place on August 21st, 1765. I dined with Palmerston. Learnt at the Drawing Room that the Sultan had made peace with Mehemet Ali, giving up Adana to him.

June 3rd. Ministers were in a minority of 12 on the Duke of Wellington's motion relating to Portugal, in the House of Lords, asking for an address to the King that strict neutrality should be observed towards that Kingdom.²

June 6th. The King replied to the address that he had already taken the necessary measures for the maintenance of neutrality.

June 12th. Went to the Levée. Lord Palmerston accused me of having informed my Government that it was to be feared that when the Hollando-Belgian affair should be settled, England would prove no less hostile to the Powers by creating for them all sorts of embarrassments. It is Sir Frederick Lamb who has told him this, Prince Metternich having communicated my report to him.

June 14th. I was shown a new invention called the hydro-oxygen microscope by which objects are enlarged a

¹ It stood till 1874 where Northumberland Avenue runs to-day.

² Greville says Lord Grey regarded this 'as a vote of censure' and 'threw out a sort of threat of resigning.'

millionfold, for instance a drop of water shows animals which appear enormous and voracious, eating one another.

June 25th-27th. Met Marshal Bourmont,¹ who has been summoned by the Duc de Cadaval to command Dom Miguel's army. I learn that Captain Napier² has, so they say, left Oporto with an expedition against Lisbon. It is composed of several warships, having on board 3,000 men, among them being the Comte de Villa Flor and the Marquis de Palmella.

On July 10th Prince Esterhazy returned to England, and in consequence Neumann's duties as *chargé d'affaires* ceased after having lasted seventeen months. There follow the records of some social engagements, a party with Lady Clanricarde at Vauxhall; a *fête* at the Duke of Buccleuch's at Richmond, at which the King and Queen were present; and a dinner with a number of friends at Greenwich. On the 14th Neumann hears the news of the total defeat of Dom Miguel's fleet near Cape St. Vincent by Captain Napier, who after but half an hour's fighting captured the whole of it.

On the 26th he is one of a large and distinguished party, sixty in all, organised by Lady Clanricarde, which went to Richmond by steamboat Talleyrand, who was one of them, remarked apropos the re-opening of the Conference concerning the Belgian affair that 'he felt two years younger.'

July 28th. Had a long conversation with Madame de Dino, who told me that Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, and the Hollands were annoyed with me as a result of the political tittle-tattle which Lord Palmerston had learnt from Sir Frederick Lamb. She rendered me good services on this occasion by undertaking to defend me.

July 29th. Dined at Prince Talleyrand's. News has arrived by courier to inform him that the 27th and 28th have passed quietly in Paris. What a curious position for a government that it should be necessary to send couriers in order to announce that it still exists!

Neumann was now about to leave England, from which country he was to be absent for some years. He records a number of farewell visits and dinners; among the former to the King, Palmerston,

¹ 1773-1846. He was French Minister of War in 1829, and commanded the Algerian Expedition in the following year.

² Afterwards Sir Charles Napier (1786-1860). He defended Lisbon in 1834, and was created Count Cape St. Vincent in consequence.

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Talleyrand, the Duchesse de Dino, and other friends. The Duke of Wellington showed much regret at his departure and treated him 'with the greatest affection,' as did Prince Talleyrand, with whom he had become extremely intimate. He left Dover on the 11th, 'meeting Mr. and Mrs. Labouchere on the boat,' and travelling in a britschka by way of Lille and Aix-la-Chapelle, arrived at Coblenz on the 14th. A few entries culled from his itinerary may be given, where anything special occurred to him or where he met any interesting people. These records of travel nearly a hundred years ago exhibit so great a contrast to the way people now make the same journey, that they have at least a kind of antiquarian interest. Many of the details given by travellers, such as Neumann himself sets down, will, of course, appear superfluous to us who are wafted across Europe in a *wagon lit* or eat up distance in a motor-car; but then it was very much otherwise, and a journey from London to Vienna was a matter of time, often of endurance, sometimes even of some danger.

Aug. 14th. At Coblenz I was obliged to stop for five hours to have a spring of my britschka mended, which greatly annoyed me; and instead of sleeping at Wiesbaden as I had intended, I stopped the night at Bingen, after having travelled for four days by roads so badly laid, at least from St. Omer to Cologne, as to knock an iron carriage to pieces.

Aug. 18th. Reached Königswarth, where Prince and Princess Metternich arrived from Toplitz an hour and a half after me. I was received delightfully by them both. The Prince told me that he had been very satisfied with his interview with the King of Prussia; that they had agreed to have a great gathering in Vienna of the representatives of the Germanic Confederation, not to pass new laws but to take into consideration the old ones and to see how they could best apply them to the requirements of the moment.

After remaining with the Metternichs at Königswarth till the end of the month, during which time the weather appears to have been so bad that everyone was confined to the house, Neumann proceeded on his journey, arriving at Munich on September 1st.

Sept. 1st. Reached Munich at 4.30. I went to the theatre, which has a fine auditorium, copied from that at Paris. They played *Fra Diavolo*,¹ admirably rendered by

¹ Music by Auber, words by Scribe. First performed in Paris on Jan. 28th, 1830. Neumann had heard it at Covent Garden in 1831 (p. 264)

the orchestra but very indifferently by the singers. The place was full of a very *bourgeois* crowd.

Sept. 2nd. Arrived at Innsbruck, which I saw again with great pleasure. Its situation is one of the grandest and most picturesque imaginable. The Alps were covered with snow even at the entrance to Tyrol. This contrast of winter on the heights and summer in the valley has a most majestic effect. I put up at the Golden Sun, where they do you fairly well. Dined off an excellent kind of game called *Schneehuhn* (ptarmigan), something like a Scotch grouse, but more delicate.

Sept. 3rd. Left in lovely weather; ascending the Goldberg and looking back over the lovely valley of the Inn the view is most imposing. This strong yet primitive nature, which looks as if it has just emerged from the Creator's hands, puts to shame the most cultivated land. The ascent of the Goldberg is long and much steeper than the Brenner, which I passed through between 12 and 1 o'clock. I ate a trout at the posting house to do honour to M. Reichardt, who in his guide book recommends them, but I am bound to say it did honour neither to Reichardt nor the innkeeper. As soon as you have passed the Brenner you find yourself on the banks of the Eisach, and you descend continually by a magnificent road having before your eyes a continually changing view of the Alps. Reached Brixen, where I slept at the Hotel de l'Europe. The Emperor and Empress have often stayed there, a fact which makes mine host very proud. About an hour's journey from Brixen I was stopped by the blowing up of some rocks by engineers. They are constructing two forts here in order to defend the pass, which is narrow enough, although I have seen narrower in Tyrol.

Sept. 4th. Left at six o'clock in the morning for Bolzano,¹ a delightful and busy town. I wanted to follow the route which leads to Meran, but the weather was so bad that it discouraged me. It rained in torrents, so I went straight on to Trent. On leaving Botzen (Bolzano) one drops into the beautiful valley of the Adige, rich in vegeta-

¹ Neumann gives it here its old name (which it has now regained), but later on refers to it as Botzen.

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tion and habitations which are pretty enough when seen at a distance, but not near, all being more or less badly kept up and dilapidated. The roads throughout German and Italian Tyrol are as good as those in England, but on the other hand are badly supplied with posting-houses. The horses are detestable and it takes two hours to cover a single stage. Slept at Trent, at the Hotel de l'Europe, which I found very good. I ate a bird called a francoline, a kind of heath-cock which is found in the mountains. It makes exquisite eating, better than the *Schneehuhn* of German Tyrol. On leaving Trent I met some English people in three carriages. I learnt that it was a certain Colonel Howard Vyse and his party. These encounters are a nuisance because it generally means difficulty in obtaining horses at the posting-houses. Dined at Desenzano, a charming little place on Lake Garda, but it rained so heavily I could not appreciate the beauty of the site. I ate a very good kind of fish called *carpone* (carp). I found the names of Count and Countess Berchtoldt, who were going to Hungary, in the visitors' book.

Sept. 6th. Arrived at Milan at 7 o'clock in the morning, and put up at the Hotel de la Grande Bretagne, where I was most uncomfortable. I saw my friend Wallmoden who had arrived yesterday, as well as Cicogna. I hastened to see the Duomo, which is certainly unique of its kind. The Treasury is a large one and is valued at over two million francs.

Sept. 7th. Saw the Arc de Triomphe, the arena, the church of St. Ambroise, remarkable for its antiquity, and the Brera, where there is a collection of statues and pictures. There are some fine things, among them being Raphael's 'Marriage of the Virgin,' painted when he was only twenty-one. One sees in it the pupil faithful to the principles of his master Perugino, but at the same time the man endowed with his own genius for the beautiful. They were preparing for a Fine Art Exhibition which was to be opened in twelve days' time.

Went to the Scala, and was struck by the beauty of the interior. Rather too large perhaps for comfort, but certainly very imposing to the eye. They performed *I Due*

Sergenti, an opera by a man named Ricci.¹ The ballet which followed was tiresome, but notable on account of the beauty of the costumes. I met there Prince Bentheim and Prince Franz Liechtenstein. We have just now three army corps and a reserve corps in Venetian Lombardy, each consisting of 20,000 men. They have concentrated for the autumn manœuvres, which take place at the beginning of October.

By the way I also saw at the Brera a fine Guercino representing Abraham dismissing Hagar, and the famous fresco of Leonardo da Vinci in the refectory of the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie. It is, however, but the ghost of what it was, being almost entirely obliterated.²

Sept. 9th. Went to see the studio of the sculptor Marchesi,³ who after Thorwaldsen possesses the greatest talent in this direction. He is executing the bas-reliefs for the Arc de Triomphe of the Simplon. He has both genius and talent. He has just completed a colossal statue of St. Ambroise for the Duomo; it is a very fine work, as is another of Beccaria which he has also executed.

Sept. 10th. Left for Como, where I arrived at 1 o'clock. It is really a lovely spot. I put up at the Golden Angel, where I found Lord and Lady Sydney and Lord Stanhope. I also encountered Madame Wetzlar in the same hotel.

Sept. 11th. Went out on the lake with Lord Stanhope and the Sydneys to La Pliniana, where Pliny is said to have lived. The spring which he mentions in one of his letters still exists. The cascade by the side of it is charming, but the villa is in a sad state of decay, as is the Villa d'Este, famous as having been the residence of the Queen of England with Bergami.⁴ It has just been bought by a M. Ciani of Milan for only 90,000 lire, and he is engaged in repairing it. We passed the Villa Tanzi, where Mrs. Locke was living when her husband perished before her eyes

¹ There were two Italian composers of this name, Luigi Ricci (1805-1859), who composed some thirty operas, the best being *Cushino* and *La Coznare*, in collaboration with his brother Frederico Ricci (1809-1877).

² The Last Supper. It was later restored

³ Pompeo Marchesi (1789-1858). His best-known work is his 'The Good Mother' at Milan.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 33.

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almost on this very spot.¹ The Villa Pasta is next door and is charming. Another villa not far off, occupied by a Mr. Compton who is supposed really to be Lord Townshend, is also delightful, as are many others.

Sept. 12th. Went with Lord Stanhope and the Sydneys by steamer to Bellaggio, where the lake forms a promontory which separates it into two parts. One of these parts is known as Lecco, the other preserves its own name and extends as far as Riva. We saw the Villa Melzi, which is rather too fine to be in quite good taste. It has a pretty chapel and a delightful garden and a terrace from which one gets a fine view over the lake. The property extends to Bellaggio. The villa was built by the President² of the Cis-Alpine Republic, afterwards created Duca di Lodi. His grandson, still a minor, is the owner, and the Comte Mellerio, his guardian, keeps up the villa in a perfect state. Passed the Villa Serbelloni, which has only its position to recommend it. Situated on the top of the promontory, one can see from it the different branches of the lake, as well as the place called Fiume di Latte, and Varenna, rendered curious on account of the crowded galleries which have been constructed there as a precaution against landslides. We lunched at Bellaggio, and then saw the Villa Sommariva,³ charming but less so than that of Melzi. There are there some fine bas-reliefs by Thorwaldsen in the vestibule, but after those of the Parthenon⁴ in the British Museum one can admire nothing in this *genre*. The garden is wonderful, containing myrtles and magnolias of the size of large trees. All this part around the lake, called the Tremezzino, is notable for the warmth of its climate in winter, although the Alps are seen beyond covered in snow. We returned by the same steamer, which passed Cadenabbia, situated half a gunshot from the Villa Sommariva. The Marchese Sommariva, to whom the place belongs, resides almost entirely in Paris.

Sept. 13th. Went to the Villa Pasta, which one has to cross the lake to reach ; this is tiresome when the water is rough, and it often is very much so. We found the heroine

¹ See vol. 2, p. 233. ² Serbelloni, appointed by Napoleon to this position.

³ Now the Villa Carlotta.

⁴ Among the Elgin Marbles.

of *Norma* and *Semiramide* established in a very vulgar fashion, having rather the air of a busy housekeeper than of a queen reposing on her laurels.¹

Sept. 14th. Went on the Lake of Lugano with Lord Stanhope. When we arrived at Chiasso, the frontier between Switzerland and Lombardy, they refused to let me leave our State (it then belonged to Austria) without a passport, although I was only in an open carriage, indicating that I was merely making an excursion. I had to return to Como, a distance of three miles, to get the document. Lugano is not nearly so fine a lake as Como.

Sept. 15th. We made an excursion on the lake to Cornaggio, Pizzo and Este again. The new proprietor, M. Ciani, showed us over every part of the villa. It is in a ruinous state. It owes its celebrity entirely to Queen Charlotte² of England. There is a charming theatre which she had built by Sansquirico. She used to perform there herself, among other rôles that of Columbine, a fact mentioned at her trial. The best thing she did here was the construction of a road from the villa to Como. The house was originally built by General Pino, who purchased 'the invisible lady,' which made such a sensation in Europe. One can see the whole of the mechanism by which this figure was able to reply to questions put to it. As in the case of all things of this kind one is astonished that one could have been taken in by it for so long.

The Villas Cornaggio and Pizzo have very beautiful gardens. The position of the latter looking towards the villas Tanzi and Pasta is delightful.

Sept. 17th. Went for an excursion, with the Countess Somailoff and Pauline, to Brianza, a rich, cultivated, and very picturesque country. We saw a house called La Soldo, belonging to a Count Appiani. The elevated position of this villa enables one to see the whole of the valley, surrounded by mountains and covered with habitations on one side. Silk is much cultivated here. Brianza is the

¹ Pasta was thirty-five at this time. She continued singing for another year or two. She died at her villa here in 1865 (see p. 78n.).

² It should be, of course, Caroline.

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richest part of Lombardy. This year it has produced a harvest of silk which is valued at 62,000,000 lire.

Until Neumann returned to Milan on the 30th of the month his time was occupied in making excursions on the lake or to places in the vicinity, often going again to such spots as we have already seen him visiting. Other friends, too, were constantly arriving. Lady Charlotte Greville and her son Henry, Lord and Lady Harrowby, Colonel Dundas, and so forth, while he also renewed his acquaintance with the Duca and Duchessa di Litta, and on the 27th watched the manœuvres of the Austrian troops under General Wallmoden. One amusing entry is made the day before he left: 'Canizzaro left for Paris on hearing that his wife had arrived the day before at Milan.' It was an open secret that the Duke and his wife (who had been a Miss Johnstone) did not get on together, and indeed for long before his death in 1841 they had been separated.¹ Neumann returned to Milan on the 30th and there found Lord Hertford, who, he says, had grown very thin, as well as the Duchesse de Canizzaro.

Oct. 1st. Went to the Brera. Several fine statues, but mediocre pictures. There is one much admired, by a Russian painter named Bruloff, representing the last days of Pompeii; but the effects of light seem unreal; in any case the picture is too highly coloured. Heard Donizetti's opera *Il Furioso* at the Scala, in which there are some fine things.

Oct. 6th. Left for the grand military manœuvres with Lord Sydney, Lord Francis Egerton and Colonel Montagu.

The description of these manœuvres, which began on the 7th October and ended on the 9th with a great parade of the troops on the 10th, would convey little (as reported by the Diarist) to the reader. The headquarters of the quartermaster-general of General Radetzky were at Valeggio, and thence Neumann went with the famous soldier to Monzambano, where the operations took place. On October 17th Neumann left for Genoa, seeing on his way the Certosa at Pavia—'a marvellous building which cannot be too highly praised—the most exquisite taste in the sculpture allied to the greatest richness in the ornamentation' is the verdict of the Diarist, who adds that few things have struck him more. Arrived at Genoa he proceeded to see the sights there.

¹ Raikes writes in 1835. 'The Duchess Canizzaro is still in Paris giving evening concerts, while her husband seems only anxious to avoid every country where she may take up her residence.'

Oct. 19th. Walked about Genoa, where everything indicates its ancient grandeur. I visited the Palazzo Doria, that of the Doges, where the small and large council rooms, especially the latter, are very fine ; the steps of the staircase which lead to them each being made of a single block of marble. The last Doge was a Doria. There are here more palaces than houses ; you can rent very fine ones for 500 francs a year.

Oct. 20th. Saw the Palace of the King and that of the late Queen. The former once belonged to one of the Durazzos. It is said that it was purchased furnished with all the pictures for two million Genoese pounds. Its magnificence is truly royal. I also saw another of the Durazzo palaces equally fine, as well as that of the Brignolis containing pictures by the old masters, and the Palazzo Serra, where all the splendour is concentrated in a single gilded saloon, but too small for its purpose.

Oct. 21st. Went by the road which leads to Spezia as far as Routta, a most delightful one by the seashore, while on the left there are orchards of lemon and orange trees, cacti, and aloes in the open air, but far too many olives, the whole studded by a vast number of delicious country houses. One sees Chiavari, Sestri and the promontory of Porto Venere where the Gulf of Spezia begins. All this slope lies in a lovely climate, warm and salubrious, which is proved by the productions of the country.

Oct. 24th. Arrived early at Arona, and saw the Borromean Isles ; of these Isola Madre seems to me the best on account of the view it offers. I crossed Lago Maggiore from Stresa to Baveno in perfect weather, and arrived at Varese where I put up at the Albergo il Capello—very bad.

Here he dined with the Duca di Litta, who owned a house close to the town, full of beautiful statues and having wonderful views over the surrounding country. Varese itself Neumann thought a miserable place. From here he did a little mild climbing, going up Sta. Maria del Monte, ‘a place of pilgrimage,’ although he found better views obtainable from mountains less difficult of ascent. He dined with the Marchese Merignano at Induno, and went to the play there —*Anna Bolena*, ‘but horribly cut down.’

Returning to Milan on the 28th he left again on November 1st, passing by Verona on his way to Venice, which he reached on the 3rd.

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Nov. 3rd. Arrived at Venice at 7.30 in the morning, and went to the White Lion hotel, which had been greatly praised to me but which I found much inferior to the Four Nations at Genoa. I saw Venice again with great pleasure after the twenty-eight years since I was first here ; it is a lovely relic which cannot be sufficiently admired. I dined with Lady Stanhope and afterwards went with her to the Teatro St. Luca.¹ They performed Rossini's *Semiramide* —very badly.

Nov. 4th. Visited the Accademia of fine arts created by the Conte di Cicognera. It contains some fine pictures of the Venetian school—an 'Ascension of the Virgin' by Titian, a masterpiece ;² some fine original drawings by Leonardo, Raphael and Michael Angelo, and models by Canova, as well as reproductions of the finest ancient statuary. I saw the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, containing some fine monuments, and that of the Scalzi composed of seven chapels constructed by seven different families. They are not as fine as those of the Certosa at Pavia, but are nevertheless very beautiful. I again visited the Ducal Palace, in the Great Council Chamber of which are the magnificent pictures by Paul Veronese, Tintoretto, and Bassano, depicting the history of Pope Alexander III. and Frederick Barbarossa. I also saw the Hall of the Senators, where the Doge used to receive ambassadors. The Grand Council Chamber contains the portraits of the Doges. The place where that of Marino Faliero, beheaded in 1354³ at the head of the great marble staircase in the courtyard, should be, is covered with a black veil painted and bearing an inscription. They show the spot where the execution took place. The ceilings, the golden staircase, in fact the whole palace is worth the closest examination. Its architecture and surroundings : the Piazzetta, the Piazza San Marco, the Procuratie Vecchie e Nuove, the whole ensemble of lovely architecture and past grandeur, strike the imagination forcibly.

¹ It is now the Teatro Rossini ; it is opposite the church of St. Luca, whence it took its earlier name

² Now in the Frari Church.

³ The execution actually took place on April 17th, 1355.

The treasures of Venice require many weeks to know. Lord Byron did not disdain to pass two years here, so greatly did he love its memories. Another still living relic of whom he speaks is Madame Albrizzi. I have seen her again. She is a woman full of knowledge and at the same time a charming companion. Her great age makes her the more interesting. After having refreshed my memory with so many delightful reminders of the past I had not the courage to remain in a spot which inspires a kind of melancholy by the very repose which reigns here. Among the curious objects in the Accademia one is shown the urn in which is deposited the right hand of Canova and, underneath, his favourite chisel with which he completed his best works.

Neumann left Venice on November 5th, meeting a little way beyond Treviso Prince Nicholas Esterhazy travelling with four carriages. Dining at Udine he said good-bye to Italian skies, and entered on bad roads and 'detestable weather.' We need not follow his itinerary closely, before he reached Vienna on the evening of November 9th. There his first days were given up to seeing old friends, and his diary is for a time a mere succession of records of visits and dinners, and thus, as it were, but a catalogue of great and in some cases illustrious names, beginning with that of the Emperor, who received him cordially and discussed with him 'the sad state of England.'

On the 30th he learnt of the death of Prince Nicholas Esterhazy,¹ which had taken place five days earlier at Como, and who was buried at Eisenstadt on December 10th.

In Vienna as at London and Paris, Neumann was a constant visitor to the opera and the theatres, and as determined a dancer at the numberless balls to which he was invited as he had been in London drawing-rooms or at Almack's. A selection from his diary during his life in Vienna, where the entries appear to have a more permanent interest than those that are bare records of his evening amusements, will be all that I shall here attempt to give. He begins his political news, as it may be called, with the following note :

Dec. 17th. Spent three hours in Prince Metternich's study, occupied in reading the last London despatches and those sent from St. Petersburg.

¹ He was noted as a patron of the arts and sciences, and was the father of the better-known Prince Paul Esterhazy, with whom Neumann was brought so closely in contact in London, where he was ambassador from 1815-18, and again from 1830-1838.

D I A R Y O F P H I L I P P V O N N E U M A N N

Dec. 20th. Read the Anglo-French notes to the Russian Cabinet protesting against the Treaty of July 8th between Russia and the Porte ; and the reply of the said Cabinet to the two maritime Powers. The first says that it will regard the treaty as not concluded, and the last replies that it will regard these protestations as non-existent. Read a Russian despatch from M. Tatischeff. His Cabinet agrees with ours in not recognising the Queen of Spain's Government so long as the civil war lasts. He even adds that if the existing Zea Ministry should be overturned by a liberal or revolutionary one, the Russian legation would be authorised to leave Madrid.

